

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS KASHMIR
(1846-1921)
(KASHMIR IN ANGLO-RUSSIAN POLITICS)

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PREFACE

Events which occurred in India and Europe towards the close of the eighteenth century, largely shaped the policy of England, who wanted to save her precious Empire from the onslaughts of European powers. Their hostilities found way into India. The French failed in their attempt to oust the British. Afterwards the Russians came forward and their shadow started lengthening over India. The British began to create buffer states round their Indian Empire. It was ringed with dependent and buffer states like Siam, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, Tibet and Afghanistan.

Kashmir occupied the most strategic position in this area. Something was to be done with regard to Kashmir as well. The opportunity came with the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. The British diplomacy resulted in the destruction of the Sikhs and finally in the annexation of the Punjab by them. At the same time in 1846, they created a new State of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh partly as a reward for Gulab Singh for his treacherous role in the Anglo-Sikh conflict, but particularly in accordance 'with an intended policy' of checking foreign aggression. Obviously the British used the Maharaja to further their imperialistic designs and policies.

After 1857, the British Government began to take more interest in the affairs of Kashmir for the simple reason that Russia had started the process of subjugating various Khanates of Central Asia one by one and its influence now touched Afghanistan. After securing a workable frontier, the Britishers desired to seal the two doors leading into India, Gilgit and Leh. They made the Maharaja follow a policy helpful to their imperial designs. The Maharaja was made to subjugate Gilgit and its surrounding chiefships and consolidate his position in Ladakh. Maharaja Ranbir Singh saw in it the occasion to extend the frontiers of his dominion and as such pursued this policy with vigour, but the British would not allow him to go further

from the fixed point. As such his 'leap forward policy' towards the north though significant was shortlived.

The Government of India posted Political Officers at Srinagar, Gilgit and Leh and made Kashmir the base for sending political as well as intelligence missions to Russia and the Central Asian regions. The British considered the frontiers of Kashmir as their own borders. They took steps to formulate a new policy in the hilly areas of Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza, and Nagar.

The year 1885 brought Russia and England to the brink of war. In the same year Pratap Singh became the Maharaja. The British established a full-fledged Residency in Kashmir and set the Maharaja's brothers against him. In the political drama the chief actors were the Resident, the Maharaja and Amar Singh. The deposition of Pratap Singh was the drop scene. Now the British Resident was the virtual ruler in Kashmir.

The case of Maharaja Pratap Singh received much attention in the British Press and Parliament, with the result that a lengthy process of restoring powers to Pratap Singh started. The deposition of the Maharaja proved a blessing in disguise for the people. The British Resident introduced many reforms in every sphere. Kashmir changed from an autocratic state into a modern state.

I started working in the State Archives of Kashmir in 1954, and examination of old records from 1724 onwards made me believe that I had a mine of first-hand information at my disposal. I started collection of notes on various subjects. After a few years work I felt impelled to work on the British Policy in Kashmir. I could not have done anything; had not a Postgraduate Department of History been established in Kashmir under the able guidance of Dr Mohammad Yasin. To him goes the credit of rendering me able guidance and encouragement in the preparation of this book.

I am also thankful to Prof. Mohibul Hassan, Prof. Miss Muhmuda Ahmad Ali Shah for guidance, Prof. Robert A. Huttenback, Prof. D. K. Ghose, Prof. Tokan Sumi, Prof. L. B. Alayev for valuable suggestions.

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ABBREVIATIONS

P.R.	Persian Records.
O.E.R.	Old English Records. -
V.R.	Vernacular Records.
P.D.R.	Political Department Records.
H.H.P.R.	His Highness' Private Records.
P.G.R.	Punjab Government Records.
K.G.R.	Kashmir Government Records.
N.A.I.	National Archives of India.
Re P.D.	Research Publication Department.

1

THE CREATION OF JAMMU & KASHMIR STATE

THE EVENTS WHICH occurred not only in India, but also in Europe towards the close of the eighteenth century, largely shaped the policy of the British, who had a stake in India.¹ Most of the European powers, with England as their leader, combined to overthrow Revolutionary France. Their hostility found its way into India also, where Tipu Sultan had entered into an alliance with the French with the sole aim of driving out the British from the Indian soil.² When the French failed in their attempt, the Russians came forward and their shadow started lengthening over the north-western frontiers of India. During this period, the British were steadily extending their supremacy towards the north and they came into contact with the Russians, who were advancing towards the Khanates of Central Asia. Conflict of interests gave birth to the Anglo-Russian rivalry in India and the countries surrounding it. At the moment, Russia was not ignorant of India. Concerning political relations with India, the Russian Embassy was stopped at Kabul under orders of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb.³ In fact, it knew much and was in possession of valuable data about this country. One of the most famous Russian travellers who visited India in 1841, was Prince A. D. Saltikova, who wrote a book about the country. He travelled the whole of India and prepared innumerable sketches and pictures. Besides these, he wrote innumerable letters to his friends which were published under the title 'Letters about

India', in 1850. He visited Lahore and met Prince Sher Singh, the heir-apparent and son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. After his return to Russia, he revisited India in 1845.⁴

It is clear how at that moment Russia was fully conversant about the happenings in India. In short, the Russian influence over Central Asian Khanates disturbed the British and they became conscious of Russia being a powerful rival in these regions. The net result was that they attempted to surround India with a ring of buffer states, designed to insulate the British Empire in India from contact with a European power.⁵

The Central Asian Khanates, which now form part of Soviet Russia, had trade relations with India from earliest times. In 1800, Emperor Paul of Russia had entered into an agreement with Napoleon with the aim of organising a combined expedition to overthrow the British in India. The two Governments resolved to unite their forces to liberate India from the tyrannical and barbarous yoke of the English.⁶ In 1801, Paul sent his forces towards India, but this expedition had to be called off due to his assassination. His successors directed their attention towards finding an outlet into the Mediterranean Sea, which resulted in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828. Thus England succeeded in putting a stop to Russian 'leap forward policy', which now began to take interest in Persia and Afghanistan, with the result that by 1837, Persia became practically subservient to Russia. Now they turned their attention towards Afghanistan, strategically situated north of India. The Russians deputed Capt. Viktievitch to Kabul to ask the Amir to join them against the British. Lord Auckland, the then Governor-General of India, deputed a special mission under Capt. Alexander Burnes, with the intention of checkmating the Russian designs.⁷ The British mission could not succeed, because the Amir asked for their support to get back Peshawar from Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. The British Government got alarmed, which led to the ill-fated expedition to Kabul, but it produced some result in the shape of *status quo* in Afghanistan. Now the British seriously chalked out

their policy for creating buffer states surrounding their precious Empire, which was ringed with dependent and buffer states like Siam, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, Tibet and Afghanistan, during a span of thirty years.⁸ Something was to be done with regard to the Punjab and Kashmir. The opportunity was provided by the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839. His death proved disastrous for the Sikh State, because his personality was the main factor which had lent stability and coherence to the kingdom.⁹

With the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Sikh Government of the Punjab disintegrated owing to personal jealousies and rivalries among the Sikh nobles.¹⁰ The British, who were always eager to profit by internal disorders in the Indian States, came forward and set in motion their unscrupulous diplomacy which resulted in the destruction of the Sikhs and subsequently led to the annexation of their kingdom by the British. At about the same time, they created a new State of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh for Gulab Singh. Who was this Gulab Singh who came to the lime-light as a ruler of a new State on the political map of India ?

Gulab Singh, known popularly as 'Gulaboo', was born in 1792 at Jammu.¹¹ His father, Kishore Singh, was a petty, impoverished landowner and belonged to a clan of mercenaries.¹² Gulab Singh had two brothers, namely, Dhiyan Singh and Suchet Singh. He began to work as a horseman under Jamadar Khusha Singh, a favourite of Ranjit Singh. He sent for his brother Dhiyan Singh and they both became personal attendants of the Maharaja at a meagre allowance of three rupees per month.¹³ They steadily increased their influence over the Maharaja who became so much enamoured of the family that he showered wealth on them.¹⁴ Suchet Singh also joined them and they were all utilised by the Maharaja to extend the frontiers of his kingdom. Gulab Singh remained in the hills with the aim of subduing his brother Rajputs for his own ascendancy.¹⁵

Gulab Singh was used by the Maharaja to subjugate the chieftains of Jammu, Riasi, Rajauri and Kishtwar. In fact, the Maharaja had tried to subdue Raja Jit Singh of Jammu in 1808,

but the Sikhs were defeated by the Dogras. The Maharaja waited for some opportune time to annex the principality of Jammu and this opportunity came with the death of Raja Jit Singh and Jammu was annexed to the Sikh State.¹⁶ As ordered by the Maharaja, Gulab Singh was deputed to annex Riasi to the Sikh State. He succeeded in suppressing the people of Riasi and defeated Bhup Dev and Mian Didoo, who had raised the banner of revolt against Sikh interference in their territories. Gulab Singh could not succeed in capturing the above leaders, but was fortunate to catch Manawar joo, one of the leaders of the uprising, who was hanged by him.¹⁷

Riasi having been subdued, Gulab Singh was ordered to conquer Rajauri, which he did by defeating and arresting Raja Agar Khan of Rajauri, who was sent to Lahore. The chief of the rebel fighters, Mian Didoo, created havoc in the Jammu area. He was a *jagirdar* of Juggi in Jammu and his aim was to exterminate the Sikh influence from these areas where the Dogras lived. He did not like the sovereignty of the Sikh Government over Jammu. He was a brave and daring warrior and had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Sikh forces several times. He had collected a band of brave soldiers who lived in the forests and who were adept in guerilla warfare. He continued his raids on the Sikhs. As expected, Gulab Singh was deputed to arrest him. A huge force was placed at his disposal for this purpose. Besides this, all feudatories in the hill regions were ordered to help Gulab Singh.¹⁸ Gulab Singh, accompanied and assisted by Sardar Attar Singh Kal, Sardar Jagat Singh Attariwala and two accomplices of Mian Didoo, namely, Diwanoo and Chaboo, went in search of the rebel leader, who was found in Katra. He was encircled by the Sikh forces who could not capture him alive. He died fighting and his head was despatched to Lahore.¹⁹ Maharaja Ranjit Singh rejoiced at the end of Mian Didoo.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh now turned his attention towards Kishtwar, a small principality between the Zanskar region of Ladakh and Kashmir on one side and Chamba and Jammu on the other side. Just as Kashmir has its own history from earliest times, Kishtwar traces its history to the days of the

Pandavas, who are said to have resided in this valley.²⁰ Its earliest historical name was Samrathgarh. Later on two clans from Kashmir, namely, the Rathers and the Ganais came and settled here. A Ladakhi prince, Sor Tundop, is also said to have conquered this land. During the fifth century A.D., it was ruled by Kahan Paul. The rulers of Kashmir subjugated it in the thirteenth century A.D. but they could not rule it for a long time. During the Chak period (1561-88), Raja Bahadur Singh of Kashmir gave his sister, Shankar Devi in marriage to Prince Yaqub. When Akbar annexed Kashmir in the sixteenth century A.D., the Kashmir ruler hid himself in Kishtwar and defeated the Mughal forces several times. Even after the death of Sultan Yaqub Shah, Kishtwar continued its raids on the Mughals, with the result that Emperor Jahangir had to depute a big force for the annexation of Kishtwar in Mughal Empire. Later on, the ruler submitted during the reign of Shah Jahan.²¹

The idea of conquering Kishtwar had occurred to Maharaja Ranjit Singh at the time of his conquest of Kashmir in 1819, but he could not carry it out. After two years, Gulab Singh was ordered to conquer Kishtwar, which was then ruled by Raja Mohammad Teg Singh. His Chief Minister, Dewan Lakhpat, was in league with Gulab Singh. It was through his connivance and the support of other petty chieftains that Gulab Singh succeeded in subduing the Raja, who was presented before Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He remained at the Sikh court for three years and would have succeeded in getting favours from the Maharaja when Dhiyan Singh came in and poisoned the ears of the Maharaja against him. He was maltreated to such an extent that he committed suicide.²² His three sons, namely, Jai Mal Singh, Zorawar Singh and Dilawar Singh, continued their struggle for some time, but failed in their attempts to recapture the throne of Kishtwar. They were arrested and done away with. Thus Kishtwar also became a part of the Sikh Government of Lahore, through the efforts of Gulab Singh, who also extended the sway of the Sikh ruler over Ladakh and even to some parts of Tibet.²³ In lieu of their faithful services, both Gulab Singh and Dhiyan Singh were favoured by the Maharaja with *jagirs*. Their

third brother, Suchet Singh, also became a favourite of the Maharaja and he also obtained a Jagir for himself. Thus the three brothers became the most influential trio in the Sikh kingdom and exercised tremendous influence over the aged Lion of the Punjab till his death.²⁴

It was in 1822 that Maharaja Ranjit Singh is reported to have granted the Government of the 'Chakla' of Jammu to Gulab Singh and his descendants as a reward for the services rendered by him and his brothers, Dhiyan Singh and Suchet Singh to the Lahore kingdom. The translation of the Sanad dated 4th Har 1879 Bikrami, which corresponds to June 1822 A.D., is reproduced below :

Approved.

Seal.

On this auspicious occasion, I grant to Raja Gulab Singh the Government of the 'Chakla' of Jammu which had been in possession of his forefathers, in lieu of his faithful services and out of love for him. He and his brothers, Mian Dhiyan Singh and Raja Suchet Singh, came to serve me, when they were hardly twelve years like their ancestors who had served my father Late Mahan Singh of blessed memory. All the three, have given me complete satisfaction, by their prompt, devotional and submissive services and they are most faithful and devoted to me. No change has come in their devotion and service and they have shown valour and loyalty in various campaigns and wars, such as the conquest of Multan and Kashmir, the suppression of the rebels on the other side of the river Indus and wars with the forces of Kabul. In consideration of this I grant the Government of 'Chakla' of Jammu to Raja Gulab Singh and his descendants. I myself mark the forehead of this devoted and faithful follower with the emblem of rulership. And in lieu of devotional and loyal services rendered by him, I also grant out of affection, the Government of the Bindaral territory (Ramnagar) to Raja Suchet Singh Ji and his descendants, so that he and his descendants may use its revenue for themselves and he and his descendants be loyal and faithful to the (Sikh) State. It is binding on all members of this family and descendants of the Raja

and Mian to be faithful and loyal to our descendants and serve them with devotion and submission as at present and be ready at the beck and call of the (Sikh) State. In witness of this I grant this role with my own august hand marked with finger prints of Saffron. Written dated 4th Har, Samvat 1879.²⁵

In pursuance of that above grant, Gulab Singh was exalted to the position of a feudatory of the Sikh kingdom and was granted the title of the Raja. Accordingly, he would remain at Jammu for most of time and would present himself for orders before Maharaja Ranjit Singh, occasionally or when called upon. Raja Sultan Khan, the ruler of Bhimber, was a sworn enemy of the Sikhs and had refused to accept the overlordship of the Maharaja. Raja Gulab Singh was ordered to deal with this man and arrest him. Raja Sultan Khan was called to Jammu and imprisoned in the Bahu fort. Later he was blinded by Raja Gulab Singh and transferred to the Gujpat fort, where he died and was buried.²⁶

Despite his high position, Raja Gulab Singh was a feudatory of the Sikh State and he could only cling on to this position at the pleasure and will of the Maharaja of the Punjab. As such, Raja Gulab Singh wished to achieve the position of a *de facto* ruler of his master's possessions. In the year 1830 the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, visited Lahore and expressed his wish to visit Kashmir. Accordingly, Maharaja Ranjit Singh issued necessary orders to Raja Gulab Singh to look after all arrangements of transport and reception. The Raja was granted certificates of merit by the Governor-General for his excellent arrangements.²⁷ This was his first chance to come into direct contact with the British rulers and he must have visualised that in order to achieve his aims, there could be no better powerful masters than the British. He had to wait for the opportunity that came with the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Before his death, the Rajas of Jammu had practically usurped all the powers and functions of the Government and Raja Dhiyan Singh had assumed the role of a king-maker.²⁸

Kharak Singh succeeded his father as ruler of the Punjab and Raja Dhiyan Singh assumed his duties as Chief Minister of

the Sikh State. The British Government in India sent a despatch of condolence and assured the new ruler of their support.²⁹ The Governor-General also, by a separate despatch, granted the title of 'Enlightened Minister, the Head of the Administration' to Raja Dhiyan Singh.³⁰ The British deputed Sir George Clark and Albert to Lahore to ask for passage of the British forces to Kabul, through the Sikh kingdom.³¹ The request having been granted at the instance of Raja Dhiyan Singh, the British agents praised his efforts. As Maharaja Kharak Singh was not kindly disposed towards Raja Dhiyan Singh, the latter conspired with the Crown Prince, Naonihal Singh to take upon himself the duties of the ruler. A secret meeting was held on 23rd Assuj, 1896 Samvat (1809) at the palace of the Crown Prince where on oath the conspirators promised to take the side of the Crown Prince. They decided to murder Sardar Jit Singh, who was the leader of the opposite party, which was working under the patronage of the King. The stage was set for a big conspiracy and Raja Dhiyan Singh distributed arms and ammunition among the forces.³² The Crown Prince led his forces to the fort, which was encircled and Suchet Singh and Prince Naonihal Singh entered the palace of the Maharaja to effect a *coup d'etat*.³³ They came to the Maharaja in his inner chambers and encircled him with naked daggers. Expecting his death near at hand, the Maharaja wailed and wept and requested that he might be spared. Sardar Jit Singh was caught and cut to pieces in the presence of the Maharaja.³⁴ Naonihal Singh now took the reigns of the Government in his own hands, with Raja Dhiyan Singh as his preceptor. Gulab Singh was perhaps the most prominent and astute actor in this tragedy, although his brother and Naonihal Singh were both present. Col. Wade was desired to express to the Lahore court the regret of the British Government that such a scene of violence should have occurred.³⁵ Henceforth the Maharaja remained confined in the palace, virtually as a captive, till his death on November 5, 1840 due to poison.³⁶ Thus the Maharaja died in distress after a short reign of three months. But as the crown prince was returning from his father's funeral he passed under a covered gateway of the fort and was fatally injured. The death of Naonihal Singh was a premeditated machination of Dhiyan Singh.³⁷ Raja Dhiyan Singh concealed

the news of his death and informed Henry Lawrence, the British agent at Ferozepore. At the same time, he sent his messenger to Peshawar to ask Prince Sher Singh to reach Lahore immediately and take over as the new ruler.³⁸ The corpse of the late Crown Prince remained in a secret chamber for three days and it was cremated on November 8, 1840 after the arrival of Prince Sher Singh, who was a putative son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Naonihal Singh's mother, Maharani Chand Kour met the challenge of Sher Singh, and a serious controversy between them resulted in a catastrophe for the Sikh kingdom and a blessing for the Dogra brothers. Both Dhiyan Singh and Gulab Singh assumed the role of king-makers. Sher Singh, with the help of Dhiyan Singh, won over the loyalty of the army and was proclaimed as the king on January 18, 1841.³⁹ But Gulab Singh championed the cause of Chand Kour. Both the brothers held opposite sides outwardly, but in their heart of hearts, they were one and conspired to take advantage of the conflict at the cost of the Sikh State.⁴⁰ Both of them mediated in the brief struggle and Chand Kour was assigned a *jagir* in the vicinity of Jammu, under the protection of Gulab Singh. Her personal property, which consisted of 500 bags of gold, 16 carriages full of silver, jewels and precious stones, ornaments and other articles, was entrusted to Raja Gulab Singh, who usurped all this wealth. In June 1842, Chand Kour was beaten to death.⁴¹ Thus the thorn which always made Maharaja Sher Singh uneasy was removed by the Dogra brothers. Gulab Singh had acted his part in full and now the stage was set for his brother Dhiyan Singh to show his skill.

Due to the virtual collapse of the central authority at Lahore, the whole of the Sikh kingdom was thrown in turmoil and there occurred many insurrections in various parts, including Kashmir. The Sikh forces began to assume the role of protector of the Sikh State and showed signs of disobedience.⁴² In this atmosphere of turmoil and chaos, Maharaja Sher Singh began to assume an independent posture, much to the chagrin of his Chief Minister, Dhiyan Singh who wanted a puppet and not a king on the throne. Some of the Sikh chiefs met under the leadership of Sardar Ajit Singh and conspired to oppose the

foreign element led by the Dogra Rajas. They succeeded in the double murder of their sovereign and his *wazir*, but they forgot to kill or imprison Hira Singh, the powerful son of Dhiyan Singh. The Sikh forces were not imbued with that genuine regard for the safety of the kingdom and sold themselves to the highest bidder, Hira Singh, who avenged his father's murder by assassinating the conspirators. The *junta* placed the infant Dalip Singh on the throne in September 1843 and Hira Singh became Chief Minister of the Sikh State.⁴³ Circumstances brought Maharani Jind Kour, the mother of the infant monarch, to the forefront as Regent. The Dogra element was again successful and *de facto* rule remained in its hands as hitherto. The Sikhs were again bewildered.

There is no denying the fact that after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, a strong pro-British lobby had entrenched itself in the Sikh court, under the leadership of the Dogra brothers. Various claimants to the throne had offered alluring terms to the British and sought their help and support, even at cession of their territories.⁴⁴ But Maharani Jind Kour was a woman of determined courage and her chief aim was to secure the throne for her son and face the designs of the British, who were eager to extend their empire upto the Khyber. She succeeded in effecting a revolution, which resulted in the death of Hira Singh. But she was no match for Raja Gulab Singh, who was determined to wreak vengeance on the anti-Dogra faction in the court. He used the good offices of Bhai Ram Singh, one of the powerful pillars of the pro-British lobby, who called for the English Newswriter at Lahore and made the following statement before him on January 4, 1845 :

What is to be done ? Life is in danger from the Sikh soldiers, but for this it was our intention that a letter should have been written to Major George Broadfoot—from Maharaja Daleep Singh, and concerning the punishment of the Sikhs and the fixing a subsidy or tribute and either Cashmere or the territory on that (i.e., the South) side of the Sutledge and permanent stationing of an English Force at Lahore... Bhai Ram Singh said to your servant, Raja Goolab Singh wishes all these demands, but he wishes the

chastisement of the Sikhs.⁴⁵

From the above, it is clear that the pro-British party led by Raja Gulab Singh proposed to barter the independence of the Sikh State for the sake of their Jagirs and principalities. They were devoid of all patriotic impulses, and always thought of personal gains at the expense of the State.⁴⁶ The pro-British faction proposed:

- i) extermination of the Sikhs;
- ii) payment of tribute by the Lahore Court;
- iii) cession of Kashmir and other territories to the British;
- iv) stationing of the British forces at Lahore.

The above terms clearly reveal the intentions of the pro-British faction, who wanted nothing less than the complete dismemberment of the Sikh State. It also reveals that Raja Gulab Singh had already his eyes on Kashmir and he was craving to invite the British. Through the English Newswriter, Bhai Ram Singh again informed the British on January 21, 1845 that Raja Gulab Singh was ready to furnish a written agreement "stipulating in return for our aid to cede the possessions of the Lahore Government on the south side of the Sutledge, and other limited territory on the north of the Sutledge and fifty lacs of Rupees".⁴⁷ The aim of the pro-British party was to prompt the Maharani to escape to the British territory along with her minor son or ask for British intervention. The Maharani never wanted to destroy herself and her son and as such refused to be a victim of the pro-British faction.⁴⁸ Hence the conspirators changed their tactics and instigated the unruly Sikh forces to cross the river Sutlej, telling them that the East India Company wanted annexation of the Punjab. In fact, the British regarded the Punjab as a fruit which when ripe would automatically fall into the hands of the Governor-General. Writing to the Duke of Wellington, the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, expected the dismemberment of the Sikh kingdom, when he said "the time cannot be very distant when the Punjab will fall into our management, and the question will be what we shall do as respect to the Hills."⁴⁹ The British had decided to cross the Sutluj after November 1845, and they wanted the Sikh army to come on its own accord into the jaws of death. Lord Hardinge

wrote to Major Broadfoot, the British agent at Ferozepore, in October 1845 that :

the Punjab must however be Sikh or British and I see no elements out of which a Sikh Government can possibly be constructed. At the same time, we must bear in mind that as yet no cause of war has been given. The lull following the late breeze will last, I think, through the cold season, and I anticipate no offensive operation.⁵⁰

On the other hand, the pro-British faction wanted to sacrifice the mother, the infant Maharaja and the Sikh kingdom for their narrow selfish interests. They even prepared a scheme with Raja Gulab Singh pulling strings in the background, for the murder of "the Ranee with her son...that they would set up Peshora Singh and Raja Goolab Singh as King and Vizier".⁵¹ Having failed to accomplish political murders, they conspired to encourage the troops to fight the British and in the process destroy itself. Raja Gulab Singh advised the Queen Mother to invite the British to occupy Lahore. But the Queen did not agree to trap herself into a virtual imprisonment.⁵² The pro-British intriguers succeeded in their mission and preparations started for giving a battle to the foreigners on their own territories.⁵³ But they never knew that no less a person than their Commander-in-Chief was hatching a conspiracy with the British.⁵⁴ The same was the case with Raja Gulab Singh, who "was not only making secret overtures to the British assuring them of his support in the event of war, betraying the secrets of the Khalsa Government and bargaining for his own selfish interests, but was also constantly working through his agents, among the soldiery to disrupt their unity".⁵⁵ The intriguers raised the bogey of the British occupation of the Cis-Sutlej territories of the Sikh kingdom to create excitement among the troops. They pleaded military action against the British but the Maharani cautioned against such a step saying that, "in the event of a clash with the British, the Government of Maharaja Dalip Singh was likely to suffer"; Diwan Dina Nath and Fakir Aziz-ud-Din supporting her views.⁵⁶ It shows that her chief aim was to preserve both her son as well as the throne of Lahore for him. But the intriguers were adamant to play the

British game and the Maharani agreed that the Sikh troops should make necessary preparations for war with the British. As the British agents worked in the court of the Sikhs, they regularly communicated all the plans and designs of the Sikh troops to Broadfoot.⁵⁷

The die was cast and the Sikh troops crossed the Sutlej on December 11, 1845. The British were ready and prepared to destroy the Sikhs.⁵⁸ Henceforth it was a story of continuous treachery in which the commanders betrayed their own soldiers on the field.⁵⁹ Raja Lal Singh and Tej Singh fled from the field leaving the bewildered soldiers encircled by British guns. But more dangerous than the treachery of the commanders in the battlefield was the political intrigue of Gulab Singh, who had sold himself to the British. He had reached an understanding with them that "the Sikh army should be attacked by the English, that when beaten it should be openly abandoned by its own Government; and further, that the passage of the Sutlej should be unopposed and the road to the capital laid open to the victors".⁶⁰ In order to repay him for this treachery, the Governor-General, in his despatches to the Secret Committee, had hinted that he intended to do something for Gulab Singh.⁶¹

In contrast with the treacherous conduct of their leaders, the Sikh soldiers fought desperately and in the process destroyed themselves in fighting the British in the battlefield. The battle of Sobroan was fought under such shameful treason. The British attained a great and important victory on February 15, 1846. Gulab Singh reached Kasur to hear the terms of peace, which were subsequently embodied in the Treaty of Lahore. The Governor-General desired not only to chastise the Sikhs for their past deeds but also to overawe them for the future. At the same time, he thought of planting Gulab Singh as an ally of the British in the rear of the Sikhs, so as to stab them in the back.⁶² Both Lord Hardinge and Raja Gulab Singh became arbitrators of the fate of the Sikh State.

It is undoubtedly true that Gulab Singh had been, for years, trying to cultivate the British, because he foresaw attainment of his cherished aim in their rising power. He was in secret correspondence with them and the British Agent at Ferozepore.⁶³

They in turn valued his friendship. As feudatory of the Sikh kingdom, it was the duty of Gulab Singh to support the Sikhs but he pretended having gone on a pilgrimage. Having refused to fulfil his obligations as a feudatory of the Sikh State, he acted the role of an intermediary; rather than an arbitrator in the conflict. He sent a secret note to Sir Henry Lawrence, who had become his personal friend. He was assured of the British support and was given secret promises, through his agent, Anant Ram. When the bargain was settled, he received the following note from Sir Henry Lawrence :

Raja Sahib, Dear Friend,
Receive my regards and let
it be known to you that I
want to say a word which
will be to your utmost good.
So, I hope, you will manage
to hear it personally. Do
this please and do it without
delay. I hope you will
remember me with your
friendly letter.

Henry Lawrence".⁶⁴

This note sealed the fate of the Queen Mother, the infant king and the Sikh State. Consequently Raja Gulab Singh reached Kasur on February 14, 1846 and discussed the terms with Henry Lawrence and F. Currie. The road to Lahore lay open to the British, who were in no haste to annex the whole of the Punjab. They decided to reduce the kingdom of the Punjab to the State of Lahore, so that it might not become a source of danger to the British. The Governor-General decided that, "a diminution of the strength of such a warlike nation on our weakest frontier seems to me to be imperatively required. I have, therefore, determined to take a strong and fertile district between the Sutlej and the Beas. This will cover Ludhiana and bring us within a few miles of Amritsar, with our back to the Hills. In a military sense, it will be very important—it will weaken the Sikhs and punish them in the eyes of Asia. I shall demand one million and a half in money as compensa-

tion; and if I can arrange to make Gulab Singh and the Hill tribes independent, including Kashmir, I shall have weakened this warlike republic. Its army must be disbanded and reorganised. The numbers of the artillery must be limited. The Maharaja must himself present the key of Govindgarh and Lahore, where the terms must be dictated and signed⁶⁵.

Hardinge succeeded in carrying out this policy in full and the kingdom of the Punjab was reduced to the insignificant status of a small principality. The British had waited for it since long. The Treaty of Lahore was signed on March 9, 1846. By this treaty, the Sikh Government of the Punjab was made to cede in perpetual sovereignty to the British Government; by Art. 3, all the country, hill and plain, between the Sutlej and the Beas; and in addition, by Art. 4, in lieu of cash indemnity for the expenses of the war, the hill countries situated between the Beas and the Indus, including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara. By the same treaty, the British agreed, by Art. 12, as a reward to Gulab Singh for his services, to transfer to him territories in the hills; to recognise his independence in such territories; and to admit him to a separate treaty.⁶⁶ Secondly, the new State was to be rendered weak in financial and economic resources, so that it could have no military organisation.⁶⁷ The Treaty of Lahore exacted the following concessions for the British⁶⁸ :

- i) surrender of the territories lying between the Sutlej and the Beas;
- ii) payment of a fine of £1,500,000 by the Sikh State;
- iii) reduction of the Sikh forces;
- iv) surrender of arms and ammunition;
- v) surrender of control of the Beas, the Sutlej and the Indus upto Mithankot;
- vi) control of internal and external policies;
- vii) price of the services rendered by Raja Gulab Singh.

This shows that the real intention of the British was to cripple the Sikhs by means fair or foul. The new State was weakened to such an extent that its absorption in the British India

was only a matter of time. In his private letter to Henry Lawrence, dated October 23, 1847, Lord Hardinge wrote as under :

...by the Treaty of Lahore, March, 1846, the Punjab never was intended to be an independent State. By the clause I added, the chief of the State can neither make war nor peace, nor exchange nor sell an acre of territory, nor admit a European officer, nor refuse us a thoroughfare through its territories, nor, in fact perform any act without our permission. In fact, the native prince is in fetters, and under our protection, and must do our bidding.⁶⁹

But the most novel feature of the treaty was its Clause 12 by which the infant Maharaja agreed to recognise Raja Gulab Singh a sovereign of such territories as may be made over to him in consideration of his services. This clearly reveals the designs of the British Government in India and amply proves the existence of an early understanding between Raja Gulab Singh and the British. Only seven days had to pass, when Raja Gulab Singh, who was working as plenipotentiary of the Sikh State, became the Maharaja of 'Jammu, Kashmir and Tibet', by the Treaty of Amritsar, which was concluded on March 16, 1846.⁷⁰ According to Article 1 of the treaty, the East India Company made over to him,

in independent possession all the hilly and mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba,

in consideration of the price which is said to have been fixed at one crore of rupees and later on reduced to seventy-five lakhs. On this occasion 'Maharaja' Gulab Singh stood up, and, with joined hands, expressed his gratitude to the British Viceroy—adding, without however any ironical meaning, that he was indeed his 'Zurkharid', or gold-boughten slave!⁷¹

The transfer of Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh needs to be viewed in a proper historical perspective, for it was a sequel to the Treaty of Lahore. It is not merely a commercial transac-

tion but something more than that because the British had decided to

reward the forbearance of Goolab Singh, because this was in accordance with an intended policy.⁷²

It is clear that Kashmir was a reward to the traitor for his perfidy and Gulab Singh was the only man to whom it could be well handed over.⁷³

It is a controversial point as to whether any amount was actually paid and adjusted in the books of the East India Company, or whether it was simply an eyewash for the world. There is no authentic receipt available, except one piece of paper purported to be a rough draft, found in the railway records of the Punjab Government Record Office, Lahore.⁷⁴ According to Article 3 of the Treaty of Amritsar, Gulab Singh had to pay seventy-five lakhs of rupees in two instalments—one of fifty lakhs on the ratification of the treaty and the other of twenty-five lakhs on or before October 1, 1846. But this rough draft of a receipt says that the total amount has been received between the date of the treaty and March 14, 1850. The East India Company was a commercial organisation and as such all amounts paid or received were accounted for in its registers. There is no register bearing the entry of one crore or seventy-five lakhs of rupees anywhere. Everyone has given his own story about the sale of Kashmir or the price paid for it. In this history, the Dogra historian says that Gulab Singh entered into an agreement with the British by which the latter bestowed upon him the hilly territories of Kashmir and Hazara on payment of a 'tribute' of seventy-five lakh rupees. This agreement was done on 31 Bhadoon, Samvat 1903. Subsequently, on 20 Poh, Samvat 1903, the British received Hazara and Quetta and the salt mines as compensation for Kashmir.⁷⁵ This shows that the transfer of Kashmir was a shadowy deal in which no cash transactions took place. It was simply a political gift and for political reasons. The British desired to curb the revolting spirit of the hilly chiefs as well as check any aggression from the 'Chinese, Gurkhas and Afghans' and this could easily be done by keeping their tested and trusted ally in the north of India. In justification of his action, Lord Hardinge in a letter to Lord

Ellenborough wrote that despite the fact that Maharani Jind K'our had ordered him to bring his troops to her aid, Raja Gulab Singh sent evasive answers and purposely kept aloof; secondly, it was necessary to weaken the Sikhs by depriving them of Kashmir; and thirdly, his loyalty to the British having been severely tested, foreign aggression would be retarded, 'by his proximity to them than precipitated and it is in accordance with intended policy that instead of ours being in war with them, the Raja should be direct in contact with them'.⁷⁶ The whole transaction about the sale of Kashmir appears to have been completed under suspicious circumstances. In the first place, Maharaja Dalip Singh, as minor could not, legally,

agree to recognize the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to him by the British Government;

in fact any agreement forced upon or executed by an infant is null and void in law. Secondly, the British were not in active possession of Kashmir and as such they had no right to transfer or sale anything which did not belong to them. Therefore, the sale price fixed at rupees one crore and later on reduced to rupees Seventy-five lakhs, was simply a camouflage designed to veil the reality and to facilitate the formal annexation of Kashmir. He was to be rewarded for his meritorious services to the British.⁷⁷

It may be noted that at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Amritsar, Raja Gulab Singh had assured the British that he would be able to occupy Kashmir without any difficulty.⁷⁸ But he did know that as regards Kashmir, he only became the *de jure* sovereign of Kashmir and a bitter opposition awaited him.⁷⁹ Kashmir was held at that time by Shaikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, the Governor of the Sikh Government, who was on friendly terms with Raja Gulab Singh. The Shaikh died in April 1846 and was succeeded by his son Shaikh Imam-ud-Din, who declared his independence and raised the banner of rebellion.⁸⁰ As he had failed to take possession of Kashmir, the Raja deputed a few ill-equipped regiments under Col. Mathra Dass to defeat the Shaikh, but the Dogra soldiers along with their commander were cut to pieces. Gulab Singh got alarmed and opened a three-pronged offensive. He collected soldiers, mercenaries and

tribesmen from whatever part of the country he could, and deputed a huge army under Wazir Lakhpat Rai to take over Kashmir. Secondly, he opened negotiations with the Shaikh, in order to allure him into submission. Thirdly, he deputed his Chief Minister, Dewan Jawala Sahi, to ask for British aid. He wrote several letters to the Governor-General and Henry Lawrence, the British Resident at Lahore imploring them to help him in the acquisition of Kashmir.⁸¹

By the time, the revolt had taken a unique turn—Shaikh Imam-ud-Din had no intention of holding Kashmir as a servant of Raja Gulab Singh, nor had he any intention to be a feudatory of the Sikhs. He was very popular among the hill chiefs and wanted to take advantage of the disturbed conditions. In this choice, he was urged by his Begum, who was a strong woman, 'proud of her kin and blood'. As a staunch Muslim, she desired ascendancy of the Muslims, who were in majority in Kashmir. She was the brain behind the uprising and entreated her husband to take up arms to resist subjugation by Raja Gulab Singh.⁸² The Shaikh dreamt of becoming the Sultan of Kashmir and in this venture, he was assisted by the hill chiefs, the Sikh regiments, and his adherents. On the other side, Gulab Singh was told by the British to collect all the forces at his disposal and despatch reinforcements to back the Dogra forces sent under Lakhpat Rai.⁸³ Accordingly, the Raja deputed reinforcements to Kashmir under Wazir Ratnu, one of his able generals. The Shaikh and his forces led an attack on the Dogra forces, which were cut into pieces and fled away from the field. Dewan Lakhpat Rai and his able generals were killed. Wazir Ratnu escaped and shut himself in the Hari Parvat fort.⁸⁴ During the battle, the Dogra forces got demoralised, numerous soldiers went over to the side of the Shaikh and the rest threw up their arms and fled away into the countryside.⁸⁵

The uprising in Kashmir must have been very popular with the local people who were mainly Muslims, for the Shaikh's rule was very popular in comparison to his predecessors. The Shaikh had the active support of the hill chiefs, who wanted to throw off the Sikh yoke. The people of Hazara rose *en masse*

in this uprising.⁸⁶ Nearly all the hill chiefs, including those of Rajauri and Rampur joined the Shaikh in his efforts to win back their independence. The refugees from old royal families also flocked under his banner.⁸⁷ The Shaikh was very popular among the local artisans of the shawl factories, for he had freed them from the slavery of the shawl owners.⁸⁸ The gun makers of Srinagar, joined in this uprising and they fought upto the last. The fight continued for several days and a large number of Dogra soldiers were killed in the battles of Maisuma and Darugjan. The Kashmiris also suffered heavy losses.⁸⁹

Now the British came forward and intervened because their prestige was at stake. Henry Lawrence threatened the Sikhs that he would be forced to cancel the Treaty of Lahore if they failed to place a part of their forces at the disposal of Gulab Singh.⁹⁰ All relatives of the Shaikh, who lived in the Punjab, were interned by Henry Lawrence.⁹¹ His Jagirs in the Jullunder Doab and Sheikhpura were confiscated.⁹² The Governor-General desired of Henry Lawrence to take all measures for suppression of the uprising. He deputed his personal assistant Lt. Herbert Edwards to Jammu to supervise punitive operations against the Shaikh who now desired to stay in Kashmir as Governor of the British and pay a huge ransom for this concession.⁹³ The British advised Gulab Singh.

to take to a sharper arbiter of quarrel—the sword.⁹⁴

On October 4, 1846, the following warning was issued by the British High Command:

Let it be known to the Kashmir army that it have come to our knowledge that you have joined hands with the Shaikh and started troubles and beseiged the fort of Hari Parbat. Hence a warning is given to you so that you may see reason and come to terms; for in it lies your betterment. You must obey, for your obedience and surrender is demanded and is in accordance with the instructions of the Lahore Government. If you do not heed, you must remain prepared for destruction. You must surrender and lay down your arms to this side.⁹⁵

Another warning was issued to the Shaikh on December 23, 1846, by the Governor-General :

Whereas Kashmir, along with Hazara, Poonch and other hilly territories, have been transferred to the Maharaja in pursuance of the Treaty, between the Sikh Government and the British Government; Shaikh Imam-ud-Din, due to bad luck, carelessness and treachery, has taken the path of rebellion and is engaged in war with Gulab Singh, it is declared that all should keep themselves aloof from the Sikhs.⁹⁶

The Governor-General desired that Gulab Singh be installed in Kashmir, by all possible means.⁹⁷ The British Government was in hot haste to end the uprising, which if continued would have developed into a big flare-up and might have resulted into a regular war in a geographically difficult area. There existed commotion in Ladakh and a slight disturbance had occurred in Zaskar.⁹⁸ Lt. Edwards conveyed to the Shaikh through his *vakils* that the British would spare his life and property if he submitted.⁹⁹ The Governor-General ordered six regiments of native infantry, two regiments of irregular cavalry and twelve field guns, to move towards Jammu to protect the rear.¹⁰⁰ In the meanwhile, the British army, the Sikh forces and the Dogra soldiers joined under the overall command of Col. Lawrence and proceeded towards Kashmir via Rajauri, whose chief, Mirza Faqir Ullah, submitted.¹⁰¹ This was the greatest blow to the Shaikh, who considered Rajauri as the gateway to Kashmir. This gateway having been abandoned by his ally, he felt panicky. At that very time, two *vakils* of the British namely, Fateh Ullah Khan and Hakim Rai, arrived in Srinagar and gave further shock to him, with the result that he called his soldiers to lay down their arms. He further sent his *vakils* to the hilly chiefs and asked them to submit.¹⁰² He himself reached the camp of the British Agent at Thanah on November 1, 1846¹⁰³ and surrendered before the united pressure of the British, Lahore and Jammu authorities.

- Gulab Singh, accompanied by Col. Lawrence and others, entered Srinagar on November 9, 1846.¹⁰⁴ The capital city surrendered and normalcy was restored in the valley. The Kashmiris had held for ten months. Col. Lawrence had a batch of efficient officers with him who were asked to bring order out

of chaos. The first important act, which the British did was the demarcation of boundaries between Kashmir and the Punjab and the work was entrusted to Capt. Cunningham.¹⁰⁵ Commissioners were appointed to lay down the ancient boundaries of Ladakh in August 1846.¹⁰⁶ Gulab Singh was told to provide all facilities to the British surveyors. The uprising in Kashmir had smashed the economy of the valley and the people suffered many hardships and died of starvation. The plight of the capital city was miserable. George Taylor issued an *Ain* regarding control of the prices and grant of rations to the residents of Srinagar.¹⁰⁷

By the Treaty of Amritsar, March 16, 1846 the British Government transferred to Maharaja Gulab Singh all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the east of the river Indus and west of the river Ravi, including Chamba, and excluding Lahoul. The Raja of Chamba had been tributary to the Sikh Durbar, and objected to occupying that position under Gulab Singh. These difficulties were settled by Col. Lawrence in 1847. Jammu and Kashmir State retained Bhadarwah and acquired Lakhanpur and Chandgraon, while Chamba on both sides of the Ravi transferred its allegiance to the British Government.¹⁰⁸ The British did everything to settle the affairs for Gulab Singh, so that he could govern in peace. But they had to face difficulties in the hilly areas, where the uprising was in full swing. The tribesmen of Hazara had risen against the Dogra ruler.¹⁰⁹ Gulab Singh deputed Dewan Hari Chand with a large army to suppress them but failed. Under such conditions, Gulab Singh felt that he could not indulge in such costly wars with the tribesmen. He requested the British Government to take over Hazara, which was agreed to by the Governor-General, who favoured him with the territories of Kathua and Suchetgarh instead of Hazara.¹¹⁰ Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century, was formed the State of Jammu and Kashmir, under the protection of the British Government.

It may be noted that while bringing Kashmir under the subjugation of Gulab Singh, the British Government did not even care to ascertain the wishes of the Kashmiris. The whole

business was transacted behind their back.¹¹¹ That is why the Kashmiris have continued to hate this transaction.¹¹² For reasons of their own, the British themselves began to repent and did not like that such an ideal place should go out of their hands. But they could do nothing except to wait for the opportunity favourable to them. In the context of the events leading to the struggle of 1857, the British had done well to keep a friendly power in the north. At the same time, they were satisfied with having Kashmir as a buffer between Russia and the British Empire. Situated on the northern extremity of India, it occupied a strategical position with its boundaries touching Russia, Kabul, China and the Punjab.

Footnotes

1. G.S. Misra, *British Foreign Policy and Indian Affairs, 1783-1815*, p. 1.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
3. A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, *Russia and India*, p. 67. Chattar Singh Samra, as quoted in *India and Anglo-Soviet Relations*, p. 3.
4. Soviet Des. No. 12, June 1965, p. 28.
5. R.L. Greaves, *Persia and the Defence of India*, London 1959, p. 140.
6. George N. Curzon, *Russia in Central Asia*, p. 324. Chattar Singh Samra, as quoted in *India and Anglo-Soviet Relations*, p. 5.
7. R.R. Sethi, *The Lahore Darbar*, p. 85.
8. Maurice and Taya Zinkin., *Britain and India*, p. 32.
9. J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs* (1966 Ed.), p. 200.
10. Jagmohan Mahajan, *Annexation of the Punjab*, p. 15.
11. Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama* (Per.) p. 88, K.G.R.
12. *Gulabnama* which is an official biography of Gulab Singh, places him in the Jammu ruling family of Ranjit Dev, which appears to be an after-thought. The descendants of Ranjit Dev died as refugees in the Punjab. According to Cunningham, the family of Kishore Singh was perhaps an illegitimate branch. Such branches started from concubines.
13. G.M.D. Sofi, *Kashmir*, Vol. II.
14. Th. Kahan Singh, *Tarikh Rajagani-i-Jammu*, pp. 79-91.

15. The British have accused Ranjit Singh of personal licentiousness and vices. He is said to have become a slave of the beauty of Dhiyan Singh and Hira Singh. Report of General Charles Napier on the Military Occupation of India, November 27, 1849 (N.I.A.) scandalises the rise of the Dogra Chief from "catamite to cabinet minister and finally to a throne".
16. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu* (Urdu), pp. 22-23.
17. Th. Kahan Singh, *Tarikh Rajagan-i-Jammu*, p. 83.
18. Th. Kahan Singh, *Tarikh Rajagan-i-Jammu*, p. 76.
19. Ibid., p. 83.
20. Shivji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p. 3. R & P.D.
21. Shivji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, introduction by F.M. Hassnain, pp. 3-4. R & P.D.
22. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 187.
23. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 181, 218.
24. Ibid., pp. 161, 201.
25. *Patta* given at pages 162-64 in *Gulabnama* (Persian) by Diwan Kirpa Ram, Chief Minister of Maharaja Gulab Singh. The Sikh sources do not mention grant of any such *patta*.
26. Th. Kahan Singh Blouri, *Tarikh Rajagan-i-Jammu wa Kashmir*, p. 87.
27. Ibid., p. 91.
28. J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 201.
29. Th. Kahan Singh, *Tarikh Rajagan-i-Jammu wa Kashmir*, p. 136.
30. Ibid., p. 137.
31. J.D. Cunningham, pp. 203-04, *The History of the Sikhs*.
32. Th. Kahan Singh, *Tarikh Rajagan-i-Jammu wa Kashmir*, p.
33. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, pp. 29-30.
34. Th. Kahan Singh, *Tarikh Rajagan-i-Jammu wa Kashmir*, pp. 139-141.
35. J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 203.
36. *Bharistan* as quoted in *Tarikh Rajagan-i-Jammu wa Kashmir*, p. 143.
37. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, pp. 34-37. *Memoirs*, Gardner, pp. 23-26.
- J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*.
38. Ibid., p. 145.
39. J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 211.12.
40. J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 211.
41. N.M. Khilnani, *The Punjab under the Lawrences*, p. 6.
42. J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 212.
43. J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, pp. 231-32.

44. M.L. Ahluwalia, *Sher Singh*, I.H.R.C. proceedings, Part II, Vol. XXXII.
45. Secret Consultation, April 4, 1845, No. 69. N.A.I.
46. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 256.
47. Secret Consultation, April 4, 1845, No. 111. N.A.I.
48. Secret Consultation, June 20, 1845 No. 58. N.A.I.
49. *The Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough*, pp. 399-400.
50. *Career of Major Broadfoot*, p. 35.
51. Secret Consultation, September 5, 1845, No. 10. N.A.I.
52. Secret Consultation, June 20, 1845, No. 58. N.A.I.
53. Lady Herberts Emma, *Life and Letters of Sir Herbert Edwards*, p. 31. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 258.
54. Alfred Lyall, *British Dominion in India*, p. 215.
55. Fauja Singh Bajwa, Secret Consultation, December 26, 1846, No. 209; Broadfoot letters, December 1, 1845 and the Sikh Wars. Gough & Innes, p. 141 and pp. 58-60. Above authorities cited in *Military System of the Sikhs*, p. 321.
56. V.S. Suri, *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, trans., Daftar IV, Part III, p. 88.
57. Fauja Singh Bajwa, *Military System of the Sikhs*, p. 322.
58. Governor-General's Despatch to Secret Committee No. 15 of December 1845.
59. Journal of Captain Nicholson, File No. 2/BK 169 P.G.R.
60. B.J. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 279, also Secret Consultation, December 26, 1846. No. 363, 367 and 370 N.A.I.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 286.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
63. *Murasilla* dated April 20, 1842 from Sir George Clerk to Raja Gulab Singh. (P.R.) K.G.R.
64. Lawrence to Gulab Singh, translated from Persian File No. 138-M (P.R.) K.G.R.
65. Viscount Hardinge, (Oxford 1891) pp. 122-23 as quoted in Jagmohan Mahajan, *The Annexation of the Punjab*, p. 35.
66. Parliamentary papers (1846). No. 15 G.G. to the Secret Committee, February 19, 1846. N.A.I.
67. Aitchison. *Treaties, Engagements & Sanads*.
68. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 160-70. See Appendix I.
69. Edwardes and Merivale, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, pp. 100-01.
70. Aitchison, *Treaties Engagements and Sanads*. See Appendix II.
71. J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, note I, p. 289.
72. *Life of Lord Hardinge* (Oxford. 1891), p. 113.

73. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 552.
74. G.M.D. Sofi, *Kashmir*, Vol. I, see Appendix III.
75. Th. Kahan Singh, *Tarikh Rajagan-i-Jammu wa Kashmir*, pp. 174-75.
76. *Life of Lord Hardinge*, (Rulers of India series), Oxford, 1892, p. 133.
77. Secret Consultations, December 26, 1846. N.A.I.
78. Papers relating to the Articles of Agreement, December. 16, 1846, G.G. to the Secret Committee. September. 19, 1846. N.A.I.
79. File No. 138-F of 1846 (P.R.) K.G.R.
80. Th. Kahan Singh, *Tarikh Rajagan-i-Jammu wa Kashmir*, p. 174.
81. Lady Emma, *Memorials of the Life and Letters of Edwards*, p. 64.
82. Lt. Edwards to Henry Lawrence, October 15, 1846, N. 193-A/BK 184-III, P.G.R. The British have spoken of her as a bigoted Muslim, full of schemes for Mohammadan ascendancy, one of those mischievous characters so common in the East, a harem politician. The Kashmiris know her as a woman of determined courage and character, revered by her subjects as Madar-i-meharban, (kind mother), who took up arms for the freedom of Kashmiris and took a vow not to allow the Shaikh enter her chambers, until he fights the invaders. Her father Raja Muiz-ud-Din Khan of Karnah married her to Prince Rahmat-ullah Khan of Muzzafarabad. Her husband having died, she married Shaikh Imam-ud-Din. Naba Shah, *Wajiz-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 190 (R & P.D.)
83. Naba Shah, *Wajiz-ul-Tawarikh* (Persian), p. 190 R.P.D., Henry Lawrence to Gulab Singh, September 4, 1846; N. 19/BK. 176, P.G.R.
84. Extract from *Jammu Akhbar*, September 6, 1846; p. 36, B.K. 176, P.G.R.
85. Secret Consultation, September 13, 1846, No. 1052. N.A.I.
86. Secret Consultation, Sept. 13, 1846, No. 1052 N.A.I.
87. Henry Lawrence to Gulab Singh, March 31, 1846; N. 2/B.K. 173. (P.G.R.).
88. Munshi Mohd Din, *Mukamal Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol. III.
89. Naba Shah, *Wajiz-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 193. (R & P. D.).
90. Henry Lawrence to John Lawrence, September 4, 1846; N. 130/BK. 194 (P.G.R.).
91. Hassan Shah, *Tarikh-Kashmir* (Urdu), p. 554, also Naba, Shah, *Wajiz-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 193 (R & P.D.).
92. Cunningham, Estimated revenues of these *jagirs* amounted to Rs 24,500,000, p. 384.
93. Munshi Mohd Din Fouq, *Mukamal Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol. III, p. 86.
94. Lady Herberts Emma, *Memorials of the Life and letters of Edwards*, p. 64.
95. File No. 138. (P.R.) K.G.R. Translation from Persian, also No. 439,

- Sept. 24, 1846. H.M. Lawrence to the Sikh troops (P.G.R. Vol. IX).
96. File No. 13 (P.R.) K.G.R.
 97. *Mukamal Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol. III, p. 88.
 98. Cunningham, *Ladakh*, p. 35.
 99. Lt. Edwards to Henry Lawrence, Oct. 3, 1846. No. 182-A/BK. III P.G.R.
 100. Vol. IX, No. 21, Sept. 24, 1846, P.G.R.
 The troops selected by the British for subjugation of Kashmir were :
 - i) 5000 soldiers and 4 guns under Sher Singh,
 - ii) 2 regiments under Kahan Singh,
 - iii) 2 regiments under Doab Singh,
 - iv) 2 regiments and 2 guns under Immam Singh,
 - v) Captain Brind with 10 guns and ammunition,
 - vi) Her Majesty's 62 Regiment, 3 regiments of Native Infantry, 2 regiments of Cavalry and 12 guns to move to Lahore,
 - vii) Her Majesty's 80th Regiment, 3 Regiments of Native Infantry and 12 guns to Lahore,
 - viii) Lieut. Lumsden to lead the Sikh troops to Rajauri,
 - ix) Major-General Litter to lead his forces to the Chinab,
 - x) Brigadier Wheeler to move the field force to Bhimber or Nowshera.
 L 69/BK. 174 to L 153/BK. 183. P.G.R. as quoted in Jagmohan Mahajan, *Annexation of the Punjab*, pp. 52-53.
 101. Munshi Mohd. Din Fouq. *Mukamal Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol. III, p. 87, also No. 448. October 26, 1846, Vol. IX, P.G.R., also L. 195, A/BK. 184, P.G.R.
 102. Edwards to Henry Lawrence, Sept. 22, 1846, No. 179. A/BK. 184. P.G.R.
 103. Ibid.
 104. No. 335, November 12, 1846, Vol. IX, P.G.R., Naba Shah, *Wajiz-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 194, R.&P. D.
 105. File No. 138 of 1846 K.G.R.
 106. Cunningham, *Ladakh*, p. 18.
 107. File No. 15 of 1846 (P.R.) K.G.R.
 File No. 138-L (P.R.) K.G.R.
 George Taylor was deputed to Srinagar by Montgomery for settling the affairs of the Maharaja, who got dismayed hearing about it. Mirza Saif-ud-Din to Montgomery, dated May 1, 1847.
 108. Aitchison. *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads*, Vol. XII, 1931, p. 3.
 109. No. 19/BK. 176 P.G.R.
 110. Agreement dated May 1847, L. 99/BK. P.G.R.
 111. P.N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, p. 31.
 112. Statements of Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah and others in Quit Kashmir Movement, 1942. The Historic Trial of Kashmir, *Weekly Khalid*, Kashmir, Oct. 1946. p. 43.

EARLY DOGRA RULE AND THE BRITISH

SOON AFTER THE creation of the Jammu and Kashmir State, the British left Gulab Singh as the master of his kingdom. They had to face difficulties because of the outbreak of the Second Sikh War in 1848. The Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, desired annexation of the Punjab and as such war was forced upon the Sikhs. The British had no authority to attack the State, which was under the administrative control of Currie, the British Resident, who had "full authority to direct and control all matters in every Department of the State".¹

Gulab Singh immediately wrote to the Governor-General that he be allowed to help the British. He was asked to close the boundaries of Kashmir, so as to prevent the spread of the uprising into his territories. He also deputed a strong force under Syed Ghulam Ali Shah and Wazir Zorawar, to Lahore to work under the British.² The rising in the Punjab was suppressed with an iron hand and Lord Dalhousie came to Lahore as the conqueror. Gulab Singh, who had done everything to help the British, was also invited. His loyalty to the British had been tried very severely and found true.³ Lord Dalhousie thus completed the task of

the utter destruction of the Sikh power, the subversion of its dynasty and the subjection of its people.⁴

The Union Jack was hoisted on the Lahore fort. With the disappearance of the Punjab ended the policy of maintaining a

friendly buffer between the wild tribal areas and the settled territories of the British. Henry Lawrence wanted to spare the Punjab and utilise it as a barrier against Afghanistan and, if need be, against Russia.⁵ But the annexation of the Punjab removed that buffer. Henceforth the British had to look for some other barrier against Russia and it could be no other territory than Kashmir and Kabul. For this purpose, it was necessary for them to have a Resident in Kashmir, to look after the Imperial interests. In fact, Lord Hardinge had earlier claimed the right on the part of the British to see that the administration of Gulab Singh was set right by having a British Resident at Srinagar. Gulab Singh claimed that there was no such provision in the Treaty concluded with him.⁶

The Treaty of Amritsar did not mention anything about the internal administration of the State and the Maharaja was left to do whatever he liked. The British promised to help the Maharaja in protecting his territories from 'external enemies', the term not being explained. But Gulab Singh acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government and it meant that his actions and policies were to be controlled by the British. In one of his letters⁷ to the Governor-General, he expressed his sentiments as under :

Your honour's gracious letter is a source of extreme joy to me and I sincerely believe that your honour has elevated me to the skies. I am ready to sacrifice my life and property as a proof of my obedience to your honour. As it is the duty of the obedient to prove worthy of any test, I am ready for your honour's orders. I am extremely grateful to the gracious British Government for its kindness and favour done to me. Anyone who is faithful to the Honourable Company has to remain faithful with his heart and soul. As an obedient servant, he has to carry out all orders.⁸

The first batch of the British officers, who had come to establish Gulab Singh as the *de-facto* ruler of Kashmir, tried to set-right the administrative machinery, which had fallen into pieces during the turmoil. Important measures were taken by these officers with regard to the control of prices, grant of

rations to the citizens and fixation of pay for the officials. Side by side, survey parties were deputed for delimitation of the boundaries and collecting intelligence reports. This was followed by trade and political missions, tourists and the Christian missionaries. In order to probe the possibilities of the Central Asian trade, Henry Lawrence came to Kashmir in 1850 and went from there to Skardu and Ladakh.⁹ British visitors began coming in large numbers to Kashmir since 1847 and Gulab Singh and his officers treated them with great hospitality. Every Tom, Dick and Harry was considered representative of the Crown and accorded every facility. The influx of the British was resented by the Maharaja, who complained that the hospitality extended towards them was abused.¹⁰ Accordingly, the British decided to appoint an officer to stay at Srinagar during summer for the purpose of looking after the foreign visitors. Major MacGregor was formally appointed to this post on January 14, 1852 and the Maharaja was asked to gladly accept this arrangement.¹¹ It may be noted that the officer so appointed was not designated as a political officer, but it is in vain to suppose that he may not be acting as a political agent of the British. A beginning had been made and with the accession of Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1885, Kashmir had a fulfilled Residency at Srinagar.

Major MacGregor was followed by Col. Nicholson and the practice of sending British officer to Kashmir became established.¹²

The Maharaja got disgusted with these goings on but could do nothing. He had himself invited them for securing his position and power. He had also invited them to Kashmir for holiday purposes to gain their favour and now he had to face the music. These officers assumed the role of political officers and discussed political issues with him. They made political notes in their diaries.¹³ Mr Makeson, for instance, discussed such issues as the military strength of the Dogras in Kashmir, and the confiscation of arms and ammunition, with Gulab Singh.¹⁴ Hence for all purposes, the officer on special duty served as a political officer and interfered in the administration of the Maharaja. He wrote to the British Government that

there was no need to keep an officer on special duty in Srinagar,¹⁵ for, he himself was capable of looking after the pleasures of the British. But he was informed by Robert Montgomery that the practice of sending the British officers shall continue as before. Some Englishmen got appointments in the State service. But the Maharaja was both shrewd and suspicious and did not like to have them in his territories. In one of his letters to the heir-apparent he wrote :

You intend to have one more Britisher in your service, despite the fact that you have three of them already with you. Even those three are more than sufficient. You must remember that to have more of them in service is not consistent with wisdom.¹⁶

This clearly reveals the fear and caution which the Maharaja wanted his son to exercise in the case of the British.

In the year 1854, Rev. Robert Clark, a pioneer in missionary work, made an extensive tour of the north-western borders of India. The Maharaja complained to the British about his activities.¹⁷ Clark also visited Kashmir and evolved the idea of a chain of missionary stations at important posts in the hilly areas.¹⁸ In the same year, the British Government sought special permission of the Maharaja for two Christian missionaries who desired to work in Ladakh, Baltistan and other hilly areas.¹⁹ The Maharaja cleverly avoided the issue till 1864, when Rev. Robert Clark succeeded in establishing the first Christian mission in Kashmir.

Gulab Singh had come as a conqueror in Kashmir and he was determined to make his power felt through his territorial acquisitions. He was burning with the desire to acquire more and more of wealth. He was extremely greedy and money was his religion.

Gulab Singh went beyond his predecessors in the gentle acts of undue taxation and extortion. They had taxed heavily, it is true, but he sucked the very life blood of the people. They had laid violent hands on a large proportion of the fruits of the earth, the profits of the loom and

the work of men's hands, but he skinned the very flints to fill his coffers.²⁰

Gulab Singh had only two aims in life and these were *zamin* and *zar*. By his loyalty to the British, he had obtained the kingdom of Jammu, Kashmir, Baltistan and Ladakh. He was not satisfied with it. At the outset of his reign, he confiscated all unregistered *jagirs* and declared that all land in his subjugated territories of Kashmir and frontier *ilaqas* belonged to him and the owners or the tillers of land were simply tenants at will. This is one of the instances of the differential treatment that Kashmiris received under the Dogra rule. This was the first time in its history that the Kashmiris as well as people of frontier *ilaqas* lost ownership of their own lands.²¹ It was left to Maharaja Hari Singh (1925-47) to grant proprietary rights to the owners of land. In order to do work on behalf of the Government, he fixed a number of men in each village to do *begaar* or forced labour at the beck and call of the officers.²² Young and old were dragged like slaves out of their huts and against their will to carry loads for the officials and the Government.²³ These unfortunate people, who were dragged from their homes and families to 'trudge' for months, perished of hunger and thirst on the roadside or died of cold on the snowy mountain passes.²⁴ The next step which the Maharaja took was to fall upon the savings of artisans especially the shawl weavers.²⁵ He imposed heavy taxes on this industry and imposed other duties such as a poll tax of Rs 47 per annum on each shawl weaver; and in order to ensure a constant flow of income, he did not allow a worker, whether half blind or full blind, to leave his loom, without a substitute. He also charged an *ad valorem* duty of 25 per cent on each shawl. Besides this, his officials charged their illegal exactions, which also amounted to 25 per cent of the cost. In the face of such oppression, the workers started fleeing from the valley.²⁶ Gulab Singh imposed tax on every shop at Rs 120 per annum and Rs 60 per annum for new shops.²⁷ Accordingly the owners of the shawl factories as well as workers were greatly agitated and made the following demands in June 1847:²⁸

- i) the various kinds of taxes, such as Baj, Nazarana, etc., be reduced;

- ii) the wages of the labour be fixed;
- iii) the Government should establish a rule of law in respect of this industry and codify it.

On June 12, 1847, they presented their grievances before Taylor and he got annoyed.²⁹ The workmen struck work and set out for migration to the Punjab in large numbers. The Maharaja, who was bent upon making his power felt, suppressed their uprising ruthlessly.³⁰ As 4000 workers had set out for Lahore, the Maharaja got alarmed and announced new rules for them. Residents of a few villages fled away towards the hills.³¹ On the whole, the people starved and it aroused misgivings in the minds of the British Government about the internal administration of Gulab Singh and Lord Hardinge asked the Maharaja in 1848 to effect necessary improvements in his administration.³² However, the seeds of unrest had been sown in the body politic of Kashmir, and the shawl workers again rose in revolt in 1865.

It has been mentioned earlier that the Maharaja declared himself as the owner of all lands, forests and mountains and did not allow proprietary rights to the owners. The land was held by his subjects in the capacity of the tenants, for which they were required to pay land revenue to him. As such, the Maharaja attached great importance to land revenue, which was the major and the main source of income to him. Land revenue was attested by *zaildars* in every village, for which they were paid by a cess of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the gross produce of the land. They had full liberty to extort as much as they could.³³ During the governorship of Shaikh Imam-ud-Din, the total revenue of Kashmir amounted to Rs 3,39,2000 but during the first year of the rule of Gulab Singh, it rose to Rs 8,430,000, nearly three times more than the previous figure.³⁴ This would show the zeal with which extortion of money was practised in the early period of the Dogra rule. Numerous taxes were to be paid by the masses.³⁵ Even the sale proceeds of horses were taxed at the exorbitant rate of 50 per cent. The office of the grave digger was also taxed. Without going into details it may be said that everything save air and water was taxed by the Maharaja.³⁶

It has been mentioned earlier that though the valley of Kashmir had been forced to surrender, the Maharaja faced tremendous opposition from the hill chiefs. Much of his energies were spent in trying to subdue them.³⁷ They rose again and again against him. The main centre of opposition was Gilgit, which continued to be in a state of disturbance and successfully fought for its independence.³⁸ Gilgit rose up in arms under the banner of Gohar Aman and the Chilas started their raids into the territories of the Maharaja. In 1852, a powerful force was despatched to the frontier under Dewan Hari Chand.³⁹ But he suffered a crushing defeat at the hand of the Chilas and over 1500 Dogra soldiers died in this campaign.⁴⁰ By the end of 1852, the Dogras were expelled from all parts of Dardistan and Gilgit went out of their hands.⁴¹ This subject will be dealt with at a later stage. It would be sufficient to record here that the British Government did depute Lieutenants Agnew and Young to Gilgit with certain assurance as far as 1847, but their mission failed at that time. What could not be achieved at that time was accomplished on August 1, 1935, when the British Government took over Gilgit under their direct control.

It may be noted that Gulab Singh had acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government and as such it was not a treaty between two parties enjoying equal status.⁴² Practically all treaties entered into by the East India Company were in reality treaties of subordinate cooperation, alliance and loyalty. The right of the British Government to intervene in the affairs of any State was involved in the acknowledgement of the supremacy of the British paramountcy. As such, the Maharaja could not object to the deputation of the British officer in Kashmir.⁴³ In 1859, he was informed that this useful practice could not be discontinued and as such all necessary facilities should be provided to the British visitors on their holiday visits to Kashmir. The Maharaja went on making wild protests but in vain. The Maharaja was told that:

the purpose of visiting Kashmir by the British will result in serving of bondage between the subjects and for bondage of friendship and love between the Governments.⁴⁴

The Maharaja had to submit but sensed a danger signal. He wanted to fix the number of the British visitors to Kashmir and accordingly fixed it at 200 a year. But later on this condition was also changed and the Maharaja was told that in future not more than 200 British soldiers should remain in Kashmir at a time, meaning thereby that a large number could come to Kashmir in batches at intervals during the whole year.⁴⁶ In the beginning, only soldiers received this concession, but later on, to the list of visitors, other categories, such as surveyors, traders and missionaries were added.⁴⁶ More and more visitors entered Kashmir and the State Government was obliged to provide all facilities to them. Kashmiris had to serve the white people like slaves but after all they were paid something to live upon. They were paid one anna or even less per day and in some cases, even this petty sum was not paid. The poor had nothing to live upon except charity and even one anna was enough for them. The approximate number of Kashmiris who worked as transport carriers in 1857 is as under:

Coolies, 37401.

Horses, 4251.

Palanquin bearers, 2452.

This does not include the other servants, such as cooks orderlies and bearers.⁴⁷

Gulab Singh wanted to install Ranbir Singh on the throne in 1856, for his health was failing and he wanted very much his lineage to continue. By nature, he was suspicious and as such invested his son with the insignia of royalty during his life-time. His two sons had died earlier and even the heir-apparent was not keeping good health. Further, he had to safeguard the position of his son against the machinations of his cousin, Raja Jawahir Singh, who had often alleged that:

the major part of the hill territories belonged, in reality, to his father and his uncle, Raja Suchet Singh as well as to his elder brother, Raja Hira Singh. He added that his greedy uncle has usurped these possessions, illegally and his plea was that being a lawful heir of his father, uncle and brother, he was entitled to recover their property from his usurper—the Maharaja.⁴⁸

In fact, Raja Jawahir Singh, being the eldest son of Raja Dhiyan Singh, owned Poonch, Jasrota and some parts of Jammu Chakla. Gulab Singh having deprived him of his ancestral property and possessions on the pretext of rebellion in the frontier *ilaqas* he instituted a case against the Maharaja, before Sir F. Currie, Agent of the Governor-General at Lahore.⁴⁹ The case was decided by him on May 12, 1848, through arbitration. Though Poonch went to him as *jagir* he was ordered to hold it as a feudatory of Gulab Singh and with no authority and power. Jawahir Singh wished to be independent and for this purpose he even tried to recruit an army, but failed in his mission.⁵⁰ This tug of war between the two factions of the same family continued right up to 1947, when the people of Poonch rose against Maharaja Hari Singh, resulting in a war between Pakistan and India. The result was that some parts of Poonch and Kashmir went out of the hands of Maharaja Hari Singh.

Maharaja Gulab Singh being shrewd and clever knew about the machinations of Raja Jawahir Singh and visualised the mischief which could be done by him.⁵¹ Hence he was impatient to nominate his successor. Though the Treaty of Amritsar⁵² had secured the right of rulership for him and for 'the heirs male of his body', he wanted to be doubly sure of his succession. Accordingly, he intimated the Governor-General about his wish, which was granted. He wrote to his friend John Lawrence as under:

His exalted, supporter and sympathiser,

After cherishing your honour's visit, this friend submits that I intend to perform the installation ceremony of my eldest son, Mian Ranbir Singh. I requested Dewan Jawala Sahi, to request your honour to inform the Governor General about it and His Lordship was pleased to favour me with the kind reply that I could perform the installation ceremony according to usage and custom. Accordingly the opportune time has been fixed as the last week of Magh 1912 Samvat.⁵³

Gulab Singh installed Mian Ranbir Singh as Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir on the 8th of Phagan 1912 Samvat and

informed the Resident at Lahore. The British Government sent *Khilat* through John Nicholson.⁵⁴ The Maharaja granted a *patta* in favour of Ranbir Singh and conferred on him the title of Maharaja. This *patta* is a sort of a will, which contains directions for the new ruler and the policy which is to be followed by the new Maharaja.⁵⁵ Its translation from Persian reads as under:

“In the name of Sri Ramji”

My dear obedient son Maharaja Ranbir Singh !

Let it be known to you that on this auspicious day of granting you the insignia of royalty, the following code of conduct and advice is given to you and must fully understand it and act upon it.

Firstly, you must purify your heart and mind; follow truly your doctrine and spend your time in regular prayers.

Secondly, you must remember that this State is simply a gift from the British Government, i.e., Her Exalted Highness, the Queen of England, who has bestowed it on us through the good offices of Lord Hardinge, Governor-General, Fredrick Currie, Col. Lawrence, in independent possession to my lineage perpetually. Hence it is your foremost duty to remain faithful to them with heart and soul.

Thirdly, you must look to the welfare of all and see that none is subjected to loot or injustice by anyone.

Fourthly, you must take every measure to maintain and equip your armies.

Fifthly, you must see that you get continuous reports of happenings on your borders, so that vigilance is adopted.

Sixthly, you must be pure in soul, and shun the society of the wicked.

Seventhly, you must serve the British, cooperate with them and show obedience and courtesy by making presents to them.

Written on 8th Phagan, 1912 on the auspicious day of marking thy forehead with colour of royalty and installation ceremony of the heir-apparent.

The ceremony of installing Ranbir Singh as the Maharaja was conducted with great pomp and show. Besides the State officials and *jagirdars* some of the British officers also made presents to the new Maharaja, who received a pistol from Watson as present and a Japanese sword from Durand.⁵⁶

Maharaja Ranbir Singh assumed power in February 1856 and Gulab Singh retired to Srinagar from which place he was in constant touch with his son at Jammu.⁵⁷

It was in May 1857 that Delhi, the citadel of the British Empire, fell into the hands of the Indian soldiers. The uprising was not a chance mutiny of the soldiers, but it was rather an expression of the people to free itself from a hateful foreign yoke.⁵⁸ John Lawrence received the information on May 11, 1857 and he took all measures to strike at all the routes of disaffection. After securing the defence of the Punjab, he informed his allies about the news and asked for help. Gulab Singh cautioned Dewan Hari Chand about the spread of the uprising in his territories and issued strict orders that no 'Purbia' be taken as a soldier in his armies. He also directed that more soldiers should be recruited, but no soldier from the British armies should be allowed to enlist, rather all these rebel soldiers should be captured.⁵⁹ In an earlier letter to Ranbir Singh he wrote as under :

News has come that the Indian soldiers at Lahore and Sialkote have rebelled. It is hoped that the British Government will be able to suppress it. But what is needed is, that you should be vigilant about your soldiers and forts. Intelligence reports must reach me regularly. It is most urgent.⁶⁰

Maharaja Ranbir Singh despatched a contingent of nearly 3000 soldiers to Lawrence, under the command of Diwan Nihal Chand. It consisted of 2000 infantry, 200 cavalry and six guns.⁶¹ This contingent played a significant role in the siege of Delhi. The uprising failed because of the lack of mass support and disunity. The fall of Delhi ended the uprising which had turned into a disorganised and reckless adventure.⁶² The Governor-General appreciated the services rendered by the Maharaja in

the task of suppressing the Mutiny of 1857. Even the Queen despatched presents for him and conveyed her commendation about the loyalty and sincerity of the Maharaja.⁶³ Ranbir Singh maintained the tradition of his father and remained faithful and loyal to the British. He even refused acceptance of *Khilat* amounting to Rs One lac and a *jagir* in Oudh, in recognition of his service to the British. He declared that he had done his duty out of loyalty and goodwill.⁶⁴ He felt proud that he had played a useful part in suppressing the rebels and was glad that the insurgents had been crushed. Accordingly, he held a *darbar* to commemorate the success of the British.⁶⁵ In recognition of his loyal services, the Viceroy of India gave sanction dated March 9, 1860 and Ranbir Singh was granted the right of adopting a son on failure of having male heir to succeed him.⁶⁶ The British conferred on him the title of 'the Star of India'. During the period, he wrote long flowery letters in Persian to the Queen of England, the Viceroy and other dignitaries.

This humble servant, in obedience to Royal orders in the service of Her Excellency, jumped into the flood of mischief mongers, rebels, and instigators; and sent his loyal soldiers to help the Royal forces and bravely face the trouble creators, who were faithless bastards; this humble servant begs to offer his most sincerest thanks to Her Exalted Majesty, the Queen for giving this humble servant the special status.⁶⁷

In one of his enthusiastic letters he asked for a life-size statue of the Queen of England. He was told that his services have cemented the bonds of friendship between him and the British.⁶⁸ On his father's death, he was told that nothing could change the friendship and mutual trust which existed in the days of Gulab Singh.⁶⁹ What were the motives which led Ranbir Singh to show so much submissiveness to the British? The answer lies in the fact that he wanted to prepare ground for his 'leap forward policy' towards the north. He wanted to regain what his father had lost in Gilgit and Dardistan and something more beyond the Pamirs. The whole subject will be dealt with in the subsequent pages. It may be recorded here that the British,

having consolidated their position and successfully suppressed all opposition, willed otherwise and could not support the Maharaja in his wild adventures beyond the Pamirs.

A conspiracy to assassinate Ranbir Singh was detected in 1859 involving Mian Huttoo Singh, an illegitimate son of Gulab Singh, with seven other officers of the Dogra army. Mian Huttoo was joined by Jawahir Singh and Mahan Singh. The ring leaders were arrested and hanged. The *Times of India*, while commenting on the incident wrote :

The present ruler of Cashmere is not liked by his troops and is said not to have sufficient of the devil in him, to keep them and his subjects in general, in good order.⁷⁰

Footnotes

1. Treaty of Bhyrowal, Article 2.
2. K.M. Panikkar, *Gulab Singh*, p. 127.
3. Edwards and Merivale, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, p. 388.
4. Quoted by Hesketh Pearson, *Hero of Delhi*, p. 148.
5. Edwards and Merivale, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, p. 175.
6. K.M. Panikkar, *Gulab Singh*, p. 132.
7. File No. 14 of 1903-Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
8. Translation from Persian of the *Kharita* dated 23rd Bhadoon, 1903 Samvat. (P.R.) K.G.R.
9. K.M. Panikkar, *Gulab Singh*, p. 131.
10. Dr. Honigberger, *Thirty-Five Years in the East*, pp. 178-179.
11. File No. 515 (P.R.) K.G.R.
12. File No. 1165 (P.R.) K.G.R.
13. Nicholson, *Lahore Political Diaries*.
14. Th. Kahan Singh, *Tarikh Rajagan-i-Jammu wa Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 177.
15. File No. 516-A and 516-B (P.R.) K.G.R.
16. File No. 131-A (P.R.) K.G.R.
17. File No. 1254 (P.R.) K.G.R.

18. Earnest F. Neve, *A Crusader in Kashmir*.
19. File No. 122-B (P.R.) K.G.R.
20. Lt. Col. Torrens, as quoted in *Inside Kashmir*. P.N. Bazaz, p. 37.
21. P.N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, p. 72.
22. K.M. Panikkar, *Gulab Singh*, p. 136.
23. Mirza Saif-ud-Din, Report ending April 30, 1848 (R.&P. D.)
24. Knight, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, p. 140.
25. File No. 835 (P.R.) K.G.R.
26. John Irwin. p. 9.
27. K.M. Panikkar, *Gulab Singh*, p. 139.
28. Ibid, p. 199.
29. Mirza Saif-ud-Din to Montgomery Lawrence, June 15, 1847 (R.&P. D).
30. Ibid, Dec. 1, 1847.
31. Mirza Saif-ud-Din, Report ending Nov. 1848 (R.&P. D.)
32. K.M. Panikkar, *Gulab Singh*, p. 132.
33. P.N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, p. 62.
34. *Tarikh Kabir* (MSS), Vol. II, Folio p. 126 (R.&P.D.)
35. Mirza Saif-ud-Din, Report ending Feb. 1, 1848 (R.&P. D.)
36. W. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 417.
37. Gulab Singh deputed his first expedition to Gilgit on April 25, 1848. Mirza Saif-ud-Din to Political Agent Punjab, April 30, 1848.
38. File No. 47 (P.R.) K.G.R.
39. K.M. Panikkar, *Gulab Singh*, p. 143.
40. P.N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, p. 36.
41. Naba Shah, *Wajiz-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 196 (R.&P.D.)
42. Treaty of Amritsar, Article 10. See Appendix.
43. File No. 515-A (P.R.) K.G.R.
44. File No. 122-A (P.R.) K.G.R.
45. Ibid.
46. File No. 369 (P.R.) K.G.R.
47. Administration Report (Persian) 1857. K.G.R.
48. Saligram Kaul, *Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh*, p. 255.
49. Th. Kahan Singh, *Tarikh Rajagan-i-Jammu wa Kashmir*, p. 176.
50. K.M. Panikkar, *Gulab Nama*, p. 123, also file No. 93-VIII of 1855 (P.R.) K.G.R.
- File No. 173-A (P.R.) K.G.R.
51. File No. 136 (P.R.) K.G.R.

52. See Appendix II.
53. Gulab Singh to John Lawrence, *Kharita* dated Magar 1912 Samvat. (P.R.) K.G.R.
54. Gulab Singh to Lt. Governor of the Punjab, *Kharita*, dated 21 Chet, 1912 Samvat.
55. File No. 147 (P.R.) K.G.R.
56. File No. 147 (P.R.) K.G.R.
File No. 148-A (P.R.) K.G.R.
57. File No. 150 (P.R.) K.G.R.
58. Col. Ignatiev, Russian military attache in London to Home Govt. in Moscow; as quoted in *Rebellion 1857*, p. 332.
59. Gulab Singh to Hari Chand. *Murasila* dated 10th Jeth 1914 Samvat. (P.R.) K.G.R.
60. Gulab Singh to Ranbir Singh (P.R.) K.G.R.
61. File No. 175 (P.R.) K.G.R.
62. Pitcheat, *Tale of the Great Mutiny*, p. 270.
63. File No. 165 of 1857 (P.R.) K.G.R.
64. P.N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, p. 39.
65. File No. 174 (P.R.) K.G.R.
66. File No. 165 of 1860 (P.R.) K.G.R.
67. File No. 166 of 1860 (P.R.) K.G.R.
68. File No. 290 of 1857 (P.R.) K.G.R.
69. John Lawrence to Ranbir Singh. *Murasilla* dated Aug. 7, 1857.
File No. 290-D of 1857 (P.R.) K.G.R.
70. *Times of India*, January 20, 1859.

3

MOVES AND COUNTER MOVES

RUSSIA STARTED MOVING towards the southern and eastern regions in 1864, when she occupied Chinkent. It was followed by the occupation of Tashkent in 1865, Kohj in 1866, and Yuni Kurgan in 1867. The Russians subjugated Samarkand in 1868. Thus within a span of four years, Russian influence had touched Afghanistan, Chitral, Gilgit and the Pamirs. The British Government took effective steps in the consolidation of the 'scientific frontier' of their Indian Empire. They extended railway lines upto Quetta and the Khyber passes. A policy of reconciliation with the Amir of Afghanistan was enunciated so as to secure a safe north-western frontier. Having done this, they desired to seal two other doors from outside influence and these were Gilgit and Leh. Thus Kashmir served as a barrier, if need be, against Russia. The British had to pursue a policy favourable to their Imperial interests. As early as 1846, Lord Hardinge had raised the corps known as, 'Guide Corps', to be posted as spies in the borderland.¹ The British Government decided to keep their men in all sensitive areas.

The British officer had already been posted at Srinagar to represent the British Government in Kashmir.² Now the Viceroy appointed an officer on special duty in Ladakh. Ranbir Singh was informed that the officer would secure information beyond the Ladakh frontiers and will not interfere in internal administration. The Maharaja appealed that such posting amounted to interference in his internal matters.³ But the

Lt. Governor of the Punjab informed him that the orders of the Viceroy were final and no change was possible. The Maharaja was told that posting of such an officer will not mean any sort of interference into the internal affairs of the State or the prerogatives of the ruler. In the beginning, the arrangement was made only for one year but later on it was decided to continue it beyond 1867 and send a British officer every year to Ladakh.⁴

The appointment of the British officer in Kashmir continued to be temporary,⁵ but the political necessity of having a permanent British Resident at Srinagar was under active consideration of the British Government. In every state they had a Resident or Agent, whose duty was to advise the ruler and to report to the British authorities. The question of having such an officer was raised in 1848, and later in 1851, when the Maharaja agreed to have a seasonal British officer. The British now availed of an opportunity to raise this question and it came during the shawl-bauf agitation.

The Kashmiris, who had practically starved during the early period of the Dogra rule were faced with famine conditions by 1865, and the masses had hardly reconciled themselves to the Dogra rule. This worsened the situation and people had to run towards the Punjab. The shawl workers had taken the lead in this respect when in 1847, they started on their migration marches towards Lahore. A major portion of farmers and workers migrated towards the plains between 1865 and 1870. The Lt.-Governor of the Punjab time and again reminded the Maharaja to take prompt action. Food grains were imported for distribution among the city people.⁶ But nothing could be done for the villagers. Distressing news began to be published in many newspapers in India about the famine conditions prevalent in Kashmir.⁷ It was claimed that atrocities had been committed by the Dogra officers on the starving people. The State Government took steps to suppress adverse news. Har Gopal, who was a pleader, informed the British Government that in order to stop the Kashmiri migration nearly one hundred famine-stricken people were got drowned in the Wolar lake.⁸ Fredrick Henry Cooper came to Srinagar to enquire into these allega-

tions. Even the Lord Bishop of Calcutta visited Kashmir to find out the truth about starvation deaths. It was Robert Throp, who wrote numerous articles for English newspapers about the plight of the Kashmiris. In fact, he is one of the foremost fighters for freedom in Kashmir. During his stay in Kashmir, he collected valuable information regarding persecution of the Kashmiri people and brought it to the notice of the British Indian Government.⁹ In his articles, he wrote that the British had sold the Kashmiris into slavery and they were suffering untold miseries at the hands of the Dogra officials. Strange enough, the British were unmindful of these atrocities. He further declared that the Maharaja desired to be more powerful and extend his sway in the frontier *ilagas*. Further, he was cultivating friendship with Central Asian chiefships.¹⁰ The writings of Robert Throp were published in a book form from London in 1870.¹¹

In 1870, *The Friend of India* advocated a new and vigorous policy towards Kashmir and suggested that a permanent Resident be posted at Srinagar, who should have Assistants at Leh and Skardu, the capital towns of Ladakh and Baltistan, respectively. The paper further advocated construction of a good military road in Kashmir at State expenses and the establishment of a sanatorium for the British soldiers at Gulmarg, so that it could serve as a garrison for Srinagar. The paper advocated reorganisation of the States administration.¹²

Starvation and famine conditions produced mass discontentment in the valley, as the authorities could not import sufficient quantities of foodgrains. The worst sufferers were the shawl workers. The people had no alternative except to migrate to the plains or die of starvation. Migration of people to the Punjab resulted in the defamation of the State Government and the British intervention of one kind or another. The State Government did not like people fleeing from the valley and, to stop further outflow sealed its frontiers.¹³

In April 1865, the people agitated against the atrocities before the officials. Shawl workers took the lead and it was a unique and an organised rising. On the historic day of April 29, 1865 the workers joined the struggle to obtain their demands.

It was perhaps the first organised demand day in the history of class struggle in India. Workers from all parts of the city, marched in procession towards Zaldagar. They raised slogans and burnt the effigy of Raja Kak Dhar, the *Darooga* of the Shawl Department. Dewan Kirpa Ram, who was the Governor of Kashmir at that time, decided to crush the uprising ruthlessly. The Dogra forces at Srinagar were sent under the command of Col Bajay Singh to deal with the procession. The workers were surrounded and then charged with guns and spears. After some deaths, the procession ran towards the bridge of Haj Rather and most of them fell into a marshy canal and got drowned. Hundreds of workers suffered minor and major injuries and at least twenty-eight dead bodies were returned to the people by the army. In the freedom struggle these inconspicuous martyrs played an important role.¹⁴

As soon as the Maharaja received information about the agitation, he ordered that the rebels be dealt with severely. He desired that dead bodies afloat the water be buried secretly.¹⁵ The Maharaja also desired that as directed earlier, punitive fines be imposed on workers, *patwaries* and others, who had taken part in the agitation. He further desired that punitive fines be realised from all agitators and their leaders be arrested and punished.¹⁶ The agitation was suppressed ruthlessly. Its leaders i.e., Shaikh Rasool, Abli Baba, Qudda Lala and Sona Shah were arrested and brought to the Shergarhi palace and beaten mercilessly and strapped. They were thrown in a dungeon. Shaikh Rsaoool and Abli Baba died of these atrocities. In the meanwhile, a heavy fine of Rs 50,000 each was imposed on all the four leaders. And when it came to light that they were poor, it was proposed to be reduced to Rs 25,000 in each case. But the Maharaja did not agree to this remission, for he wanted to make it a test case and example for his subjects.¹⁷ The other two leaders were sent to Jammu to be imprisoned in the Bahu fort. Besides the above, hundreds of agitators were arrested and imprisoned in the prison of Habak. Most of them died of cold and starvation.¹⁸ The Government of India deputed some officers to enquire into these atrocities, but could not sympathise with the miseries of the people. After all they had themselves suppressed an uprising of 1857 and they could in no case

encourage such movements in the native States. Both Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh had rendered valuable services to them in 1857, when there was an uprising in India for freedom. Ranbir Singh put down the shawl workers agitation with a strong hand and the British kept silent over it. However, the British deputed some of their officers to enquire into the conditions prevailing at that time. They asked for information about the political condition under which mints were established and continued in the State, area of circulation of the local coins and comparative exchange value of these coins with the Indian coins.¹⁹ The aim was to check up the economic conditions prevailing in the State and its financial strength. *The Friend of India* wrote in August 1870 as under :

The people (Kashmiri) through their constant intercourse with the Punjab, have very fair idea of the advantages of our rule and would hail with the greatest joy, the annexation of their country. The first Deputy Commissioners would be welcomed on their arrival, as saviours, and worshipped after their departure as gods. Of course, I expect from the people, the Raja's army and officials and perhaps the favoured caste of the Pandits, who though few, are wealthy and influential. But the great mass of the people are Mohomedans and they hate the rule of Hindoo with an intensely bitter hatred; in fact, they are prevented from rebelling by the belief that the Raja would be supported by the whole force of the British Government, against which they know all resistance to be unavailing.²⁰

The above correctly reveals the trend of the British policy then. The conditions were favourable for the British to occupy Kashmir but the fear of an advancing Russia prevented them from taking this action.²¹ By 1870, Russia had nearly subjugated the whole of Central Asia. The Khanate of Bokhara had been brought under the Russian sphere of influence by 1868, when Samarkand was occupied by them. The British had developed an active interest in the affairs of Central Asia, but they did not consider it advisable to do away with Maharaja's Government at that critical juncture. He was ready to serve

their interests with loyalty. Neither the Home Government nor the British Government in India was ready to come into direct contact with Russia, by removing the buffer states of Kashmir and Afghanistan. Lord Mayo, the Governor-General, had met Amir Sher Ali of Afghanistan at Ambala and secured his friendship. Side by side they had conducted informal discussions with the Czar of Russia to put a stop to rapid advances towards the south.²² The same policy was followed in Kashmir which could serve as a base for counter-moves against Russia. In the same year, Durand, Lt.-Governor of the Punjab, was deputed to Kashmir to have political discussions with the Maharaja, who complained of anti-Maharaja campaign in the Anglo-Indian press. The Maharaja was told to counteract such propaganda in the press and for this purpose his Dewan was called to Lahore.²³ As regards the political affairs, he was told to appoint Fredric Drew²⁴ and William Johnson in Ladakh for watching the events on the border. The question of having other British officers in the State was also discussed. It may be noted that Johnson had served in the G.T. Survey of India and had visited Central Asian territories in 1865. It was during this period that Amir Yakub Khan had established his short-lived State of Kashgaria and Yarkand and the Maharaja had developed very good political relations with him.²⁵ They had even exchanged their ambassadors. Ashor Mir served as the Kashmiri Safir in the court of Ataliq Ghazi Khan.²⁶ It would be interesting to deal here with the story of the Maharaja's short-lived 'leap forward policy' which had begun in the reign of Gulab Singh when a treaty was signed between Kashmir and Kashgar for promotion of trade and political relations.²⁷

Ranbir Singh came to power in 1857 and from the outset he thought about the extension of his territories. He could not proceed towards the south, for it would bring him in clash with the British, who had extended their sway right upto Peshawar. He had no option but to look towards the north and fish in the troubled waters of Central Asian Khanates.²⁸ The first thing he did was to train a batch of persons, who could go to the Central Asian countries. For this purpose, he established the Russian Language School at Srinagar, the first of its kind

in India, where Russian and other languages were taught.²⁹ He sent his agents into Central Asian Khanates, who could report to him about the conditions prevailing there.³⁰ Foremost among those who did useful work for him and for the British were Mehta Sher Singh, Mohamad Khan Kishtwari, Khawaja Qadir Joo, Mian Salab Singh and Soba Khan Bandooki.³¹ Khawaja Qadir Joo and Mian Salab Singh went to Yarkand on a political mission in 1864.³² Soba Khan Bandooki went to acquire military data about the Chinese in Sinkiang. Mehta Sher Singh and Mohamad Khan Kishtwari collected useful political data for him in the years 1866 and 1867.³³ Fully equipped with facts and figures, he even despatched his forces to occupy a fort, across the Karakoram. The Governor-General desired of the Maharaja to refrain from such adventures.³⁴ But the British were not totally ignorant of the happenings on his frontiers. They had their own agents in the region. As far back as 1863, the British had entered into a trade agreement with the Maharaja regarding payment of export and import duties on articles of merchandise in Ladakh. This agreement did not include the merchandise, which came to the Punjab via Kuloo.³⁵ They had posted Dr. Cayley at Leh, as the Special Agent of the Governor-General, who outwardly supervised trade relations of the British with Turkistan.³⁶ In 1864, Forsyth made certain suggestions to the Governor-General and discussed the issue of exporting British products into the Central Asian markets to compete with the Russian products.³⁷ For this purpose, Dr Cayley was asked to make a detailed survey. He suggested that all levies and duties charged on the British products by the State be abolished. The Maharaja accepted these suggestions in toto.³⁸ The British had deputed W.H. Johnson to Central Asia in 1865.³⁹ He reached Khutan in the middle of summer and met the Amir, who solicited British support to fight against the Russians.⁴⁰ Johnson could assure no aid because he knew the mind of the Governor-General who had no desire to come into direct conflict with Russia. The Amir despatched presents for the Governor-General, through Johnson, who reached Srinagar on December 19, 1865.⁴¹ The Amir of Khutan informed Johnson about the atrocities committed by the Russians on the Muslims of Central Asia and informed him that the peoples of Turkistan would like to be ruled

by the British rather than the Russians.⁴² Johnson reported the whole position to the Governor-General. The British had posted Fredric Drew at Ladakh and they had deputed Wilson and other officers for survey of the frontiers.⁴³ Col. Elphinston visited Kashmir for promotion of export trade.⁴⁴ It may be noted here that various British Agents had already visited Ladakh and areas beyond it and the British Government in India was in full knowledge of the activities of the Maharaja, who wanted to try his luck towards the north. However, formal orders regarding appointment of the British Joint Commissioner in Ladakh were issued on April 13, 1867. He was to secure information on all occurrences in Tibet and Turkistan.⁴⁵ The Maharaja protested and in order to make his protest effective deputed his heir apparent, with his *vakil*, Nihal Chand, to Lahore to wait upon the Lt.-Governor of the Punjab. In his representation, he wrote that both Montgomery and Lawrence, who had visited Ladakh to study the issue of having a British officer there, had agreed that it would amount to interference in the internal affairs of the State.

Whereas the State is a gift from the British Government and the late lamented Col. Lawrence was its founder; I consider the action and deeds of the Colonel as agreements and Treaties.

The Maharaja further pleaded:

I have always tried my level best to please His Excellency, the Governor-General of India, and the Lt -Governor of the Punjab and I may be excused to point out that occurrences in Tibet and Turkistan and information regarding trade with India can be gathered by staying in Spiti, on the frontier between the British territory and Ladakh.⁴⁶

The delegation was told that the orders of the Viceroy were final and these could not be changed and the British officer would stay permanently in Ladakh.⁴⁷

The appointment of the British officer at Leh and Ladakh produced a demoralising effect on the State administration. It was rumoured that the British intended to take over the administration of Ladakh. In order to quell these rumours, the British

declared that they had no intention to interfere into the internal administration of the State and that the British officer at Leh had been posted there

to enquire into the prospects of trade between Tibet and Turkistan and British India.

And

to guard the interests of traders to and from British territory.⁴⁸

The Maharaja was assured that his prerogatives would be safeguarded and there would be no interference into his internal matters.⁴⁹ But he insisted that there was no need to have the British officer at Leh.⁵⁰ His pleas were ignored by the British; rather the project of having a road from Srinagar to Leh, the capital town of Ladakh, was taken in hand. A survey party under the leadership of Captain Bisway was deputed to Srinagar in 1871 and the Maharaja was requested to provide all facilities to this survey party. The State Government was asked to make all arrangements such as transport, foodgrains, etc.⁵¹ Unfortunately, Bisway died at Leh and his corpse was despatched to Srinagar, by Fredric Drew, the Governor of Ladakh.⁵² There used to be two Commissioners in Ladakh at that time, one on behalf of the State and the other on behalf of the British. But in every case, both happened to be British.⁵³

It is clear that both the British Government and the Maharaja were not idle spectators of affairs prevalent in Central Asia and both had employed their agents to work in that vast inaccessible region. It was in 1872 that Haji Tora reached Srinagar as the first envoy of Yaqub Khan, the Amir of Kashgar and Yarkand. The Maharaja directed him to the Viceroy for political discussions.⁵⁴ This event excited the British and they began to cast doubts on the future designs of the Maharaja. They put a stop to the 'leap forward policy' of Ranbir Singh. He was told to behave as a ruler of the native State, subordinate to the paramount power, existence where of depended on the will and pleasure of the Governor-General. In a letter, among other things, the Maharaja was told that the British Government did not approve of his adventures in the countries beyond Karakorum. He was further informed that :

Khaliq Dar had stated that when he was in Yarkand, a member of the Russian Mission had a talk with him, that, there would be direct correspondence between Your Highness and the Russian Government. ...That whatever truth there may be in Khaliq Dar's story...intercommunication with Russia is an Imperial concern. In view of the relations subsisting between Your Highness and the British Government, correspondence between Russia and Kashmir is not proper; but will lead to improper complications.⁵⁵

It is clear that the British had become suspicious of the activities of Ranbir Singh and he was told in a diplomatic way to be careful in future. On their part, in 1873, the Governor-General decided to send a political mission to Yarkand, under the leadership of Sir Thomas Douglas Forsyth.⁵⁶ The mission included Captain Bedaulp, and Captain Troter. The Maharaja was asked to provide all facilities to the mission and make all arrangements regarding transport, supplies and accommodation.⁵⁷

About 2000 horses, 7000 coolies and palanquin-bearers and hundreds of officials were kept on duty and the Maharaja made all arrangements regarding transport and supplies. On the other hand, it was declared that the mission was

exceedingly distasteful to the Maharaja and that his servants who accompany it have received private instructions to throw all possible obstacles in the way of a successful prosecution of the journey.⁵⁸

On a complaint made by Forsyth about the deliberate delinquency in supplying necessities to him, the Maharaja dismissed several officers, including Syed Ali Akbar, the Wazir of Ladakh.⁵⁹

The mission proved very useful to the British and they gained a foothold, though temporary, in Kashgar. Their policy of commercial penetration with the aim of subsequent domination in Central Asia materialised. A trade mission was established at Kashgar and George Macartney was appointed as the First British Assistant for Chinese Affairs.⁶⁰

In order to ensure effective supervision over trade with Central Asia, they made the Maharaja to enter into commercial

relations with them. In 1870, a Commercial Treaty was concluded between the British Government and the Maharaja with the aim, "to afford greater facilities for the development and security of trade with Eastern Turkistan". It was agreed upon that :

- i) Officers of the British Government will be appointed to survey the trade routes from the British frontier of Lahoul to the territories of the Ruler of Yarkand, including the route via Chang Chenmo Valley;
- ii) the route best suited for the development of trade with Eastern Turkistan shall be declared by the Maharaja to be a free highway in perpetuity and at all times for all travellers and traders;
- iii) for supervision and maintenance of the road and for settlement of disputes, two Commissioners shall be appointed, one by the British Government, and the other by the Maharaja;
- iv) the Maharaja agrees to levy on transit duty whatever on this free highway on goods from Eastern Turkistan to India and vice versa.

By this treaty, the British obtained full rights to control economic and trade relations with Turkistan. At the same time, it was the first step towards subsequent British interference in the politics of Central Asia. The treaty was concluded by T.D. Forsyth with Maharaja Ranbir Singh on April 2, 1870.⁶¹

In order to ensure effective supervision over the Central Asian Trade, the Governor-General sanctioned Rules regarding import of the British products into Central Asia via Kashmir.⁶² It was notified that no custom levy would be imposed on merchandise imported into Kashmir and Central Asia from the British India. All products, henceforth, would be sealed at Calcutta, Bombay and Amritsar.⁶³ The Rules were notified in the Gazette of India dated July 6, 1874. Further, the British Government decided to appoint various Joint Commissioners on the Central Asian Treaty Road leading to Kashgar. Both administrative and financial powers were delegated to them and for this purpose a Dastur-ul-amal was concluded with the Maharaja.⁶⁴ New

rules of business were framed for the guidance of these officers. The British Joint Commissioners were empowered with judicial powers, both civil and criminal. As regards financial powers, they were authorised to utilise State grants for construction of roads and bridges. The British Joint Commissioners were authorised to seal bundles of merchandise for Central Asia, at Calcutta, Bombay and Amritsar and give necessary certificates about the nature of merchandise.⁶⁵

The Forsyth Mission was a success. He entered into a trade agreement with the Amir of Yarkand and Kashgar, on February 2, 1874 by which he secured concessions for the import of the British products in Central Asia.⁶⁶ The Amir agreed to allow the stay of the British Representative in his court and the British mission at Kashgar was allowed to purchase movable and immovable property in the territories of the Amir. The officer was designated as the Special Assistant to the Kashmir Resident for Chinese Affairs.⁶⁷ As a result, the whole conduct of relations with the Central Asian territories, both commercial and political, passed into the hands of the British. The 'leap forward policy' of the Maharaja was given up and in future, he was asked to refrain from such wild adventures. The Queen of England sent a small steam boat for him as a present in recognition of his services to the Forsyth Mission. The Maharaja's political stock in the Central Asian region was completely eliminated. Haji Yaqub Tora, the envoy of the Amir of Kashgar and Yarkand was granted a Jagir.⁶⁸

By 1876, the Czar revived the plan for the invasion of India. General Skobelev, the Governor of Ferghana, declared that the downfall of the British in India would be the beginning of the downfall of England.⁶⁹ As Russia got involved in another war with Turkey, the Skobelev plan did not materialise. Russia alleged that the war was engineered by the British and in order to pay them back in the same coin they deputed a Russian mission to Kabul under General Stolietoff in 1878.⁷⁰ The aim was to create trouble for the British in the Hindukush.

Lytton could not remain an idle spectator and as such he wanted to utilise the opportunity to pursue his forward policy. He was interested to make the British a supreme power in

Central Asia and to achieve this he forced a war on the Afghans and succeeded in securing concessions for the British.⁷¹

Russia tried to win over Atalik Ghazi Yaqub Beg, but failed. He was told that the Czar considered his treaty with the British in the light of covert hostility to Russia.⁷²

The British succeeded in creating a short-lived Central Asiatic balance of power favourable to the Imperial interests. Counter-moves of the British had attained complete success.

Ranbir Singh offered his troops and other resources to the British Government in the case of war with Russia, but the offer was declined by them, for they were not prepared to engage themselves in any major clash with Russia.⁷³

In 1890, the British took necessary precautions to control the entry of foreigners into Ladakh from Central Asia. It was ordered that no-'European or American' would enter into Ladakh from Yarkand without a British passport.⁷⁴

Footnotes

1. Smith Bosworth, *Life of Lord Lawrence* (I), p. 254.
2. Treaties and Documents, p. 6. K.G.R.
3. *Murasilla* dated 26th Bisakh 1924 Samvat.
File No. 9-G (P.R.) K.G.R.
4. File No. 375 of 1867 (P.R.) K.G.R.
5. File No. 610 of 1874 (P.R.) K.G.R.
6. File No. 306 of 1922 Samvat.
7. File No. 432 (P.R.) K.G.R.,
8. *Tarikh-i-Kabir*. (MSS. Persian)
9. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din. R&P Deptt. also Naba Shah, *Wajeez-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 213.
10. C.E. Tyndale Bisco, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 237.
11. Robert Throp, *Cashmere Misgovernment*, Longman Green and Co. London. 1870.
He is buried in the Christian cemetery, Shaikh Bagh, Srinagar. His grave carries the following epitaph :

- "Robert Throp. Aged 30 years. OBIT. Nov. 22, 1868. He died for Kashmir".
12. File No. 432 of 1870. (P.R.) K.G.R.
 13. Robert Throp. Cashmere Misgovernment (Typed manuscript) K.G.R.
 14. Naba Shah, *Wajeez-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 201. R.&P. D. also Sahibzada Hassan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 98.
 15. Ranbir Singh to Kirpa Ram. File No. 313-A of 1865. p. 62 (K.G.R.)
 16. File No. 303 of 1922 Samvat (S.A.).
 17. File No. 306 of 1922. p. 57. K.G.R.
 18. File No. 313-E of 1865 K.G.R.
 19. File No. 412 of 1869 K.G.R.
 20. File No. 432 of 1870 K.G.R.
 21. Czar Alexander II (1855-1881) mapped out a strict programme for gradual approach to the borders of India in order to strike the sworn enemy of Russia (Britain) a death-blow whenever it became necessary. As quoted in the *Soviets in the World Affairs*, Louis Fisher, p. 418.
 22. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 743.
 23. File No 432 of 1870 (P.R.) K.G.R.
 24. Fredric Drew wrote his famous book *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, which was published from London in 1875.
 25. File No. 692-H of 1291 A.H. (P.R.) K.G.R.
 26. File No. 421 (P.R.) K.G.R.
 27. File No. 243 of 1851 (P.R.) K.G.R.
 28. File No. 347 of 1866 K.G.R.
 29. File No. 349-G of 1866 (P.R.) K.G.R.
 30. File No. 313-C & 313d of 1865
File No. 330-A. (P.R.).
File No. 329-D (P.R.) K.G.R.
 31. File No. 536 (P.R.) K.G.R.
 32. File No. 122-C (P.R.) K.G.R.
 33. File No. 296, 379.
File No. 330-B (P.R.) K.G.R.
File No. 332 (P.R.)
File No. 329 (P.R.)
 34. File No. 248 of 1923 Samvat K.G.R.
 35. File No. 215-A.H. of 1863 (P.R.) K.G.R.
 36. File No. 303 (P.R.) K.G.R.
 37. Ibid, p. 50.
 38. File No. 303 of 1867 (P.R.) K.G.R.

39. File No. 308 of 1855 (P.R.) K.G.R.
40. "Turkistan—Johnson's visit to Yarkand and Khotan"—a brochure in Urdu. K.G.R.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. File No. 313-D of 1865 (P.R.) K.G.R.
44. File No. 433-C (P.R.) K.G.R.
45. File No. 371 of 1924 Samvat K.G.R.
46. Ranbir Singh to Lt. Governor Punjab, *Murasilla* dated 26th Bisakh 1924 Samvat (1867). File No. 371 K.G.R.
47. File No. 376 of 1867. K.G.R.
48. Notification dated, Muree, July 14, 1868. File No. I.C.F. 2 of 1168 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
49. File No. 403 of 1925 Samvat.
50. File No. 477 of 1870 K.G.R.
51. File No. 462 of 1871 (P.R.) K.G.R.
52. File No. 505 of 1928 Samvat K.G.R.
53. File No. 557. of 1929 Samvat (1872) K.G.R.
54. File No. 486-B (P.R.) K.G.R. also Naba Shah *Wajeez-ul-Tawarikh* p. 208. R.&P. D.
55. Sir Henry Davis to Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Letter dated Sept. 26, 1873.
56. File No. 569 of 1873 (P.R.) K.G.R.
57. File No. 437 of 1873 (P.R.) K.G.R.
58. File No. 435 K.G.R. *The Friend of India*, August 1873.
59. File No. 435 (P.R.) K.G.R.
File No. 486-A (P.R.)
60. File No. 435 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
61. *Treaties and Documents*, pp. 3-4 (K.G.R.), for full details see Appendix.
62. File No. 433-A (P.R.) K.G.R.
63. File No. 303 of 1872 (P.R.) K.G.R.
64. Ibid.
65. File No. 215 (P.R.) K.G.R.
66. File No. 692 of 1874 (P.R.) K.G.R.
67. File No. 435 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
68. *Sanad* dated February 8, 1877.
File No. 486-B (P.R.) K.G.R.

69. H. Sutherland Edwards, *Russian Projects against India*, p. 278.
70. Lady Betty Balfour, *The History of Lord Lytton's Administration*, p. 240.
71. Ibid., pp. 247, 326.
72. The Earl of Dunmore, *The Pamirs*, p. 312.
73. Dufferin to Ranbir Singh, April 13, 1886. File No. 966 of 1885 (P.R.) K.G.R.
74. File No. 388/96 of 1947 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.

KASHMIR TO GILGIT

ONE CANNOT BUT admire the love for independence which the people of Gilgit, Chilas, Yasin and Ishkoman, together with Chitral, showed time and again for keeping their land free from the clutches of the Dogra rulers. They had never known a foreign master and as such they bravely fought the Dogras and the British, whenever an opportunity came to them.

They refused to allow any outsider, either British or Dogra, to consolidate his position on their soil. They were subjugated physically, but their spirits always remained free and they obtained their deliverance at last in 1947 from the clutches of the Dogra Maharaja. As far as the Treaty of Amritsar is concerned, the Maharaja had been made the monarch of the country situated east of the river Indus.¹ As such Gilgit, Chilas and other hilly countries situated on the west of the river Indus could not come under the domain of the Maharaja. But both Gulab Singh as well as Ranbir Singh took advantage of the turbulent situation in which the British Government was engaged after the uprising of 1857. But when the British became free from their pre-occupations, they turned their attention towards Gilgit. In order to remain fully informed about the Russian moves, the British selected Gilgit as a watch tower and placed a British officer there in 1868.² Posting of such officers continued at intervals till 1935, when the Dogra Maharaja had to lease it out to them, under an agreement for sixty years.³ Dr Arthur Neve, who remained in Kashmir for many years, wrote as follows about Gilgit.

To the Englishman the word Gilgit should recall the many gallant deeds of the nineties—the capture of Hunza, the relief of Chitral and the Pamir Commission. During the last half century Kashmir is the only Indian native State that has increased in area. And the increase was not desired but was forced upon the Imperial Government by the advancing power of the Russian Empire and the intrigues of its frontier officers.⁴

Lord Curzon, who served as the Viceroy of British India from 1899 to 1905 expressed the same sentiments and exposed the British policy as under :

It was a fortunate day when the misgovernment of the Kashmir State and contemporary events in Central Asia compelled the Indian Government to look more closely into and eventually to make itself responsible for the border defences of Kashmir. In 1878, the first British Agent or Political Officer was appointed to reside at Gilgit. In one of the customary waves of political reaction, he was presently withdrawn. But the intrigues of Russia, then in her most chauvinistic temper, on and beyond the outer frontier, compelled the Indian Government to reconsider its decision and the post was revived and made permanent in 1889. Simultaneously the duty of providing the frontier garrisons was withdrawn from the Kashmir Durbar, and was entrusted to the newly constituted Kashmir Imperial Service Troops, commanded by British officers, in whose hands it has ever since remained. Thus it was that almost unwittingly to start with—as is the way with British Government—but not too soon, Great Britain made herself accountable for adequate defence of what are the natural boundaries, not of a feudatory State, but of the Indian Empire itself, and assumed a task which has ever since been invested not with a local, but with an imperial significance.⁵

From the above, it transpires that the British considered the frontiers of Kashmir as their own frontiers and the whole territory acquired by Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh as their own.⁶

As such the expansionist policy of the above Dogra rulers requires to be traced out from its beginnings.

Gilgit and its surrounding territories were known as Dardistan in the olden days. The entire country from Anmb to Rondu is known as Dardistan and its inhabitants as Dards. Gilgit is surrounded by Chitral, Darel, Tangir, on its west; Hunza, Nagar and the Pamirs on its north; Chilas on its south; and Baltistan on its east.⁷

During the period under review, Gilgit consisted of the following chiefships:⁸

- i) Gilgit proper
- ii) Hunza
- iii) Nagar
- iv) Chilas
- v) Punial
- vi) Yasin
- vii) Koh-Ghizar
- viii) Ishkoman

Gilgit is surrounded by lofty mountains and it was a meeting place of Afghanistan, Russia, China and India. In the words of Lord Curzon :

it is one of the northern gates of India, through which a would-be invader must advance, if he advances at all.⁹ Gilgit occupies a strategic place and the Indian Government, harassed by Russia's growing restlessness in Central Asia, knew it for the key of great northern gateway into India, a key worth holding even at some cost in toil, money and valuable though less—human lives.¹⁰

Gilgit was occupied by Syed Nathe Shah, the Commander of Shaikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din in 1842. Gohar Aman raised the banner of struggle against the foreign intruder. Syed Nazar Shah succeeded Syed Nathe Shah, at the time the British succeeded in defeating the Sikhs in 1846.¹¹ The next year the British Government deputed Lt. Vans Agnew and Young to Gilgit to obtain information about the hilly territories.¹² But due to the opposition of the Raja of Hunza, they had to return with-

out any success. He declared that he would not allow the British into his territories.¹³ The British Government had effected transfer to Gulab Singh the country "situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi". This clearly reveals that Gulab Singh had no right to cross the Indus with the aim of subjugating Gilgit and other territories. The same view was held by the people of Dardistan and these are given as under :

The Maharaja could not conquer Gilgit during the life time of Gohar Aman. Ladakh and Baltistan had been subdued on behalf of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1833 and a military Governor had been posted by Shaikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, the Kashmiri Subedar of the Sikh Government, at Gilgit. As such the Maharaja had no right over Ladakh and Baltistan. What to speak of Gilgit ! The British Government had given him all lands and hills between the western side of the river Ravi and the eastern side of the river Sind. As such he had no right to change his boundaries, more so, to cross the river Sind and occupy each and every area on the river Sind, including Hunza and Nagar.¹⁴

This clearly reveals the mind of the tribesmen, who were fighting for their own soil with conviction and who sincerely believed that the Dogra Maharaja had no right, legal or moral, to subjugate their homeland.

After having consolidated his position in Kashmir, Gulab Singh sent his troops to subjugate Gilgit, which had risen against the foreigners under the leadership of Gohar Aman.¹⁵ All attempts to subdue these freedom-loving tribes failed and the Dogra forces were completely annihilated. The Maharaja made frantic appeals to the British for help, who advised him to despatch more troops to Gilgit, and to fortify it with arms, ammunition and provisions.¹⁶ The main reason for the failure of the Dogra troops to subdue these hilly tribes in 1848 was that the Maharaja's Government had not settled down as yet; the British were themselves engaged in consolidating their position in Cis-Sutlej States; the frontier chiefs of Hunza and Da-rel had join-

ed hands with Gohar Aman Khan and it was not possible to defeat the united forces of the hilly chiefs.¹⁷

Gulab Singh collected a huge force in 1852 and deputed it to conquer the tribal territory of Chilas. But a major portion of his forces was killed in the fight. In the meanwhile, Gohar Aman Khan led an attack on the Dogra reinforcements, which were advancing towards Gilgit under the command of Bhoop Singh. All the Dogra forces were cut to pieces. Bhoop Singh died in the battle and the Dogra forces submitted. Accordingly, the Darad people once again succeeded in saving their independence and territories.¹⁸ During the life-time of Gohar Aman, the Dogra rulers could not dare to attack Dardistan. They had to wait for eight years.

After making ample preparations, and equipping the army with the latest arms, ammunitions and provisions, Ranbir Singh deputed a huge force for the conquest of Gilgit.¹⁹ By 1860, Gohar Aman had died and there was no able leader to combine the strength of the tribal chiefships against the invader. The Dogra forces under Col. Devi Singh had no difficulty in capturing the fort of Gilgit. Using it as a base, he proceeded to Yasin. He carved out a buffer state of Punial, between Gilgit and Yasin and nominated Isa Bhadar as its ruler.²⁰ Thus a faithful feudatory was planted right within the tribal territory of Dardistan. This policy proved fruitful for the Maharaja, who succeeded in purchasing a traitor from the war-like tribes to fight his own kith and kin. The whole of Dardistan lay prostrate at the mercy of the Dogras. Malik Aman, the son of the deceased leader (Gohar Aman), fled to Chitral. Yasin was placed under the governorship of Mehar Wali.²¹ Beneath the apparent calm which prevailed after the subjugation of Gilgit, Chilas and Yasin by the Dogras, a strong current of opposition to the foreign rule emerged again and again.²² The people, though subdued, expressed their resentment whenever an opportunity offered itself to them. They resorted to guerilla tactics under the leadership of Malik Aman.²³ They inflicted losses on the Dogras in Yasin, who had carried a general massacre of men, women and children in the fort of Yasin.²⁴ However, occasional outbreaks of open hostility continued to occur in the

border areas. Taking advantage of the rivalry between the people of Hunza and Nagar, the Dogras led an attack on Hunza from Gilgit in the year 1866. But they had to runaway in disgrace.²⁵ The people of Dardistan once again united to throw off the foreign yoke. Malik Aman, having received aid from Chitral, proceeded to take over Gilgit and thus succeeded in occupying the left bank of the river Gilgit. The freedom fighters succeeded in capturing many forts in Punial. The whole border was once again engulfed in turmoil and disorder. The Dogras succeeded in capturing a few women and children who were brought to Srinagar as prisoners of war.²⁶

The Viceroy enquired into the causes of strife and turmoil in Gilgit, from Dewan Nihal Chand, the *mohtamid* of the Maharaja, at Simla in 1866. The Dewan told him that

it was in the nature of the Muslim tribesmen to break into violence occasionally due to their shortsightedness.

While giving a report of the interview to the Maharaja, the Dewan informed that the Viceroy advised him to plant 500 families of Rajputs and other Hindus in Gilgit and give them all facilities for settlement, such as lands and *jagirs*, so that they and their successors became possessors of the area and ensured peace in that region.²⁷ The Maharaja, who wanted to punish the tribesmen of Dardistan, decided to send a huge force to Gilgit under the command of his aged and experienced Commander, Wazir Zorawar. He equipped this army with arms and ammunition. Numerous Kashmiris were captured to work as coolies, who perished in the way.²⁸ In September 1866, Wazir Zorawar led an attack on the valley of Darel. Malik Aman, the leader of the freedom fighters, had got the valley evacuated before the Dogra invasion and most of the inhabitants had fled towards the mountains.²⁹ As the snow had fallen, the Dogra forces could achieve nothing and many died due to the scarcity of rations.³⁰ Most of the Kashmiri coolies, captured for forced labour, captured animals, and soldiers died in the way. Many suffered from frost bite and got blinded due to snow. The Maharaja had achieved nothing.³¹

The next year, the people of Yasin again attacked Punial which was serving as a base for traitors under Isa Bahadur. They

could achieve nothing except occasional loot and spoil. In the latter half of 1859, both Russia and China exchanged views on the possibility of deputing a special mission to India to conclude an alliance against the British.³²

In the year 1868, the British Government deputed Lt. George Hayward on reconnaissance purposes to the Pamirs.³³ Lt. Hayward went to Yarkand to obtain permission of the authorities there, but returned without success. But in 1870, he made plans to enter the Pamirs through Yasin. After having reached Gilgit he applied for permission and sent presents to Mir Wali, the Chief of Yasin. He was invited by Mir Wali and remained at his court for three months. Mir Wali, who wanted to take over Gilgit, asked Hayward to talk over the matter with the Viceroy. Accordingly, Hayward presented himself before the Viceroy but the British Government refused to hand over Gilgit, to Mir Wali. Hayward arrived in Yasin in July 1870 and reported his failure to Mir Wali. He started on his travels, but he was waylaid by the men of Mir Wali and killed along with his attendants near Darkoot. His body and papers were recovered by Fredric Drew, who was in the service of the Maharaja.³⁴ He was buried at Gilgit.

The attitude of the tribal chiefs had remained hostile towards foreigners. Twenty years back they had refused admission to Vans Agnew in their territories. And now they actually murdered a British explorer. The British Government considered the whole position and devised plans to avenge the death of their spy. In the meanwhile, Phalwan Bahadur had succeeded in driving out Mir Wali and assumed the rulership of Yasin. He had been helped by Chitral in his ascendancy. In the same year, Prince Zafar of Nagar came to the court of Ranbir Singh and gave an undertaking for safe intercourse between Gilgit and Nagar. He further promised to work against the Raja of Hunza, for which he was promised every support. The Maharaja had played his cards well in playing one chief against another. The Raja of Hunza also submitted, with the result that Ranbir Singh succeeded in expanding his territories in Dardistan. He had the full support of the British Government in pursuing this policy of extension, for it amounted to the extension of the

British sphere of influence. The British extended tacit sympathy to the Maharaja in his adventures. He was also encouraged to bring these tribal republics into some sort of mutual friendship. For this, the Maharaja was provided with material aid. In 1876, he was favoured with 5000 guns, one mountain artillery brigade for effecting necessary supervision in the Gilgit territories.³⁵

The Maharaja extended his influence in various small republics of Shinaki, such as Darel, Tangir, Khilli, Seo, Harban, Zazin and Jalkot and they paid him some forms of tribute.³⁶

In the meanwhile, events on the north-western frontiers of India were moving very fast. The British were anxious to isolate Afghanistan which showed leanings towards Russia. The relations between Afghanistan and Chitral were rather strained, because the Afghans wanted to invade and conquer Chitral.³⁷

Accordingly, the British Government formulated a policy to secure the friendship of Chitral, so that it could keep watch over the frontiers between Russia and India. With these objects in view, Major Biddulph was deputed to Chitral in 1877.³⁸ The British, as they were situated at that time, could not directly render any military aid to Chitral. For, it would have created unwanted suspicion both in Afghanistan and Russia. Accordingly, the Viceroy was anxious to secure an indirect control over the Hindukush, through the Maharaja of Kashmir, who was asked to go ahead according to his plans. The suggestion was most welcome to him, for it fulfilled his personal ambition as well as brought immunity to Gilgit from raids by Chitral.³⁹

Sandwiched between Afghanistan and Kashmir, the *Mehtar* of Chitral changed his mood from time to time. His main aim was to get more and more aid from any quarter, so as to recover those territories which he considered as his own. As such he followed a policy of keeping everyone in good humour.⁴⁰

Thus came into existence the political relationship between the British and Chitral on one side and between Kashmir and Chitral on the other. The *Mehtar* of Chitral accepted aid and recognised Ranbir Singh as his suzerain. But, at the same time, he accepted the Amir of Afghanistan also as his suzerain. Lord Lytton told the Maharaja to ask the *Mehtar* that

having accepted the suzerainty of the Maharaja, he was not at liberty to change for the suzerainty of Kabul.⁴¹

He was further promised material aid and support in this difficult task. The Maharaja deputed his envoy with presents to Chitral. At the same time, he sent his spies, mainly Afghan refugees, to assess the actual position of happenings there. All information thus gathered by the Maharaja was passed on to the Viceroy who deputed Major Henderson "to be promptly and fully informed of the progress of events." The British Government wanted to secure the allegiance of Chitral, Dir and Bajour, so as to isolate them from having any friendly relations with Afghanistan.⁴² The rulers of these chiefships changed sides at their convenience and as such it was considered advisable to bind them in some sort of agreement and understanding. The British Government desired that such agreements should be as brief as possible, embodying:

firstly, an express recognition of suzerainty;

Second, an arrangement for the exchange of representatives, and

thirdly, grant of annual subsidy subject to allegiance.⁴³

Accordingly, negotiations were started by the Maharaja with the *Mehtar* of Chitral, which resulted in the Chitral Agreement of 1878. Among other things, the *Mehtar* engaged that "he will always, sincerely endeavour to obey and execute the orders of the Maharaja". The Maharaja on his part agreed to an annual *mawajib* of pay Rs 12,000 to the *Mehtar*.

In order to be well informed of the Russian moves, the British found it necessary to establish a regular secret service agency at Gilgit.⁴⁴ Accordingly, Biddulph passed through Hunza in 1876. He was directed to "make all possible endeavours to collect and to enable the British Government to obtain early and authentic information on the course of events in the adjacent country—the frontier districts of Kashmir—and submit an account of the places, the capacity of the neighbouring localities, with connected particulars." From the above, it appears that the British spread a network of spies in the Hindu-kush. Biddulph collected invaluable information for the British Government.⁴⁵

In 1881, the Political Agency at Gilgit was withdrawn by the British because

those objects, which are still regarded by the Government of India, as important, will be, in no way, contravened by the removal at this time of the Agency.⁴⁶

The British had consolidated their position in the North-Western Province and Afghanistan had been completely won over. They had gained much strength both politically and militarily throughout this part of the world.

It is interesting to mention here that Ranbir Singh offered all his resources and troops against Russia to the British Government. The Viceroy, vide his letter dated April 13, 1885, thanked him for this offer.⁴⁷ The tribal people again rose against the Dogras, under the leadership of Malik Aman of Yasin, who led an attack on Roshan fort in 1886 and compelled the Maharaja to take defensive measures.⁴⁸

In 1888, the Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar again combined to throw out the foreigners. Accordingly, they started attacking the State garrisons.⁴⁹ The Kashmir troops were defeated in the battle of Chaprot and the tribal chiefs succeeded in capturing a great number of the troops who were sold as slaves to the Kirghiz in the Pamirs.⁵⁰ Accordingly, the British got alarmed at the turn of events. In 1889, they sent Durand to Gilgit on a political mission.⁵¹ He entered into negotiations with the frontier chiefs, with the aim of subsiding their fear and gaining their friendship.⁵² He informed the Resident in Kashmir that it would be necessary to increase subsidies in favour of the tribal chiefs.⁵³ The British agent at Gilgit recommended increase in the allowances of the chiefs of Hunza, Nagar, Chaprot, to strengthen the defence of the northern frontier of Kashmir.⁵⁴ New agreements were arrived at between the Maharaja and the chiefs, by which their subsidies were increased. Now they were to receive annual subsidies of Rs 2000 each from the Government of India and the State.⁵⁵ A British Political Officer was appointed for Hunza and Nagar by the Government of India in 1892.⁵⁶

In April 1892, Macartney reported from Yarkand that there were about 5000 troops of the Maharaja in slavery in different

parts of Turkistan. The British came to the conclusion that those slaves should be ransomed.⁵⁷

The Gilgit affair having been settled, the British Government diverted their attention towards Chitral, because it occupied a most important strategic place in the defence of the British Empire.⁵⁸

In 1884, Phalwan Bahadur of Yasin began his expeditions against those chiefs who had submitted to the British pressure and accordingly invaded Darel and Yasin.⁵⁹ The time was ripe for such moves because Russia had already annexed Merv and was advancing towards the Pamirs. At the same time, it was feared that Afghanistan was making preparations for an attack on Chitral.⁶⁰ Such events greatly disturbed the British.

In 1885, the British Government deputed Col. Lockhart on a special mission to the Pamirs. The Maharaja was told to provide all facilities to the mission.⁶¹ Lockhart was received at Kohala border by the Dewan and all arrangements regarding board, lodge and transport were made right upto Gilgit. An amount of Rs 33,000 was sent to the Mehtar of Chitral and he was requested to provide all cooperation to the mission.⁶² The Raja of Hunza promised to provide all facilities to Lockhart and in return asked for the fort of Chaprot. Lockhart travelled⁶³ far and wide around the Pamirs and crossed into Badakshan. After conducting political negotiations with the Chinese, he returned to Simla, to report on his mission to the Viceroy of India.⁶⁴ His mission was a complete success. The Maharaja was thanked for his interest in this project.⁶⁵

The Mehtar of Chitral, who had received the subsidy through Lockhart, expressed his thanks as under :

It is not hidden from you that this humble self had enrolled himself as one of the sincerest, true and obedient well wishers of Sarkar, whoes territory is fixed on the other side of Gahkooch and mine on this side of it. I am obedient and true to salt and ready to render all services in Gilgit. It is not hidden from you that my friendship with the British dates back to earlier period and I have rendered all facilities to their missions. It is due to the British

that my territories are safe from the inroads of the Afghans.⁶⁶

It is evident that the Mehtar had arrived at a full understanding with Lockhart and had entered into an era of direct political relations with the British.⁶⁷ This letter further revealed that Chitral would not countenance interference in her territorial limits. It also marks the end of the expansionist policy of Ranbir Singh. Chitral having assumed independent posture, there could be no question of the Maharaja going further over the Head of Chitral, who now asked for arms and ammunition from the Government of India, as promised by Lockhart.⁶⁸

Instead of making their feudatory responsible for political and military supervision on the natural borders of India, the British Government now formulated the policy of taking all issues in their own hands. The Russo-Indian border had become hot and it was imperative that the British should assume the task, 'not with local but with an imperial significance'. Henceforth it was ordered that no European or American could enter the frontier *illaqas* including Ladakh without a British passport.⁶⁹ Ladakh being adjacent to Tibet, the spotlight of Anglo-Russian political rift shifted to Lhasa. Accordingly, commercial and other relations between Ladakh and Tibet came under the purview of the Government of India.

The British Joint Commissioner took over the management of Choba and Lapchak trade mission to Tibet in 1895.⁷⁰ Previously trade between Ladakh and Tibet was controlled by the State. In 1890, intelligence had been received by the British Government regarding movements of Capt. Grombetchewsky of the Russian Army in the vicinity of Shahidullah on the Ladakh borders.⁷¹ Similar information about the Russian movements on the Pamirs was received in the year 1891.⁷² The British deputed Mr Conway and other officers to conduct a special survey of the Karakoram range.⁷³ The Government of India despatched reinforcements to Gilgit as a defence measure 'in connection with the Russian movements.'⁷⁴

In order to stop further provocations, the British declared that Shahidullah and Sagot be treated as lying outside Ladakh territories.⁷⁵

This was ordered in order to put a stop to the expansionist and extra-territorial claims of the Maharaja. They also did not like to antagonise the feelings of Russia. They even permitted Prince Viya Somesski to visit Kashmir.⁷⁶

The British Government's policy underwent a change and now they desired to win over the friendship of the tribal chiefs and utilise them for their Imperial interests. The Chiefs of Hunza, Nagar and Punial were invited to Calcutta as guests of the Viceroy in 1900.⁷⁷

Footnotes

1. Treaty of Amritsar, See Appendix II.
2. File No. 1/C. F-2 of 1868 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
3. File No. E. 341/20 of 1935 (P.D.R.) K.G.R.
File No. E-333/14 of 1935 (P.D.R.) K.G.R.
File No. E-339/18 of 1935 (P.D.R.) K.G.R.
4. Dr Arthur Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*.
5. Curzon, *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note Book and Other Papers*, pp. 160, 161.
6. Ibid.
7. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu* (Urdu), p. 765.
8. File No. 1241 (P.R.) K.G.R.
9. Curzon, *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note Book*, p. 178.
10. Mand Diver, *Candles in the Wind*, London, 1912.
11. File No. 1154 (P.R.) K.G.R.
File No. 815-D of 1846 (P.R.) K.G.R.
12. Political Diaries, Vol. IV, p. 275. P.G.R.
13. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 783.
14. File No. 1154 (P.R.) K.G.R.
15. File No. 47 (P.R.) K.G.R. also Naba Shah, *Wajeez-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 196. R.&P. D.
16. Henry Montgomery to Gulab Singh, Jan. 13, 1848.
File No. 1488-C of 1948 (P.R.) K.G.R.
17. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 783.

18. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 788.
19. File No. 815-D (P.R.) K.G.R.
20. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Rajagan Jammu*, p. 792.
21. File No. 1154 (P.R.) K.G.R.
22. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 793.
23. File No. 1915-A of 1943 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
24. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 793.
25. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 794.
26. Hassan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (Urdu), p. 577.
27. File No. 347 of 1923 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
28. Hassan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (Urdu), p. 578.
29. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 797.
30. File No. 345 of 1922 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
31. Hassan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (Urdu), p. 578.
32. *Rebellion 1857*, p. 345.
33. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*.
34. Curzon, *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note Book*, p. 170.
35. Hassan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* (Urdu), p. 584.
36. Aitchison *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. XII, op. cit.
37. File No. 4 of 1884 (O.E.R.)
38. G.J. Younghusband and Frank E. Younghusband, *The Relief of Chitral*, p. 2.
39. Curzon, *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note Book*, p. 105.
40. Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 116.
41. Lytton to Ranbir Singh, May 14, 1874. K.G.R.
42. File No. 749-B of 1934 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
File No. 749-A of 1877 (P.R.) K.G.R.
43. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 176.
44. File No. 292-D of 1877 (P.R.) K.G.R.
45. Biddulph to the Maharaja, September 15, 1876.
File No. 681 of 1876 (P.R.) K.G.R.
46. File No. 904 of 1881 (P.R.) K.G.R.
47. File No. 966 of 1885 (P.R.) K.G.R.
48. File No. 1015-A of 1943 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
49. File No. 16 of 1888 (O.E.R.).
50. The Earl of Dunmore, *The Pamirs*, p. 302.
51. File No. 21 of 1889 (O.E.R.)
52. File No. 10/A-28 of 1889 (O.E.R.)

53. File No. 10 of 1888 (O.E.R.)
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
File No. 25 of 1894 (O.E.R.)
File No. 48 of 1895 (O.E.R.)
56. File No. 23 of 1892 (O.E.R.)
57. The Earl of Dunmore, *The Pamirs*, p. 302.
58. Younghusband, *The Relief of Chitral*, p. 180.
59. File No. 4 of 1884 (O.E.R.)
60. Ibid.
61. File No. 56/19 of 1945 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
62. File No. 974 of 1942-44 Samvat (P.R.) (1885) K.G.R.
63. File No. 984-85 of 1942-43 Samvat. R.R.
64. File No. 1000 of 1942 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
65. File No. 998 of 1886 (P.R.) K.G.R.
66. File No. 1024 of 1943 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
67. File No. 1025 of 1943 Samvat (P.R.)
68. File No. 1025 of 1943 (P.R.) K.G.R.
69. File No. 388/95 of 1947 Samvat (V.R.) K.G.R.
70. File No. 9 of 1889. (O.E.R.)
71. File No. 21 of 1890 (O.E.R.)
72. File No. 5 of 1891 (O.E.R.)
73. File No. 24 of 1892 (O.E.R.)
74. File No. 5 of 1891 (O.E.R.)
75. File No. 82 of 1892 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
76. File No. 338/20 of 1950 Samvat (V.R.) K.G.R.
77. File No. 105 of 1957 Samvat (V.R.) K.G.R.

5

CONDEMNED UNHEARD

THE FATEFUL YEAR of 1885 brought Russia and England on the brink of war. The British had hoped that

our relations with Russia will be those of peace, not of war; and that we shall, at no distant period, co-operate with her, in spreading the blessing of civilization and settled Government among the oppressed peoples and savage tribes.¹

Russia had expressed the same views and declared that

an amicable division between Russia and England is quite practicable. What has not been conquered by one power might, without opposition, be conquered by the other, more especially as the advantages of such acquisitions are contested by many.²

It appears that both the powers professed peace, but both had different aims. While the Russian Government desired of England to divide their sphere of influence and expand their frontiers to a mutual point of contact, the British Government stuck to the policy of keeping and maintaining buffer States in between them. In reality Russia wanted to annex all the States on the north-western frontiers of India, while the British wanted to keep them as buffers. Hence came the question of Afghanistan, which was facing pressure from Russia. The news that General Komoroff had invaded Panjdeh created panic among the British. Popular opinion got inflamed against Russia

and everyone clamoured for strong action.³ Active preparations for a war with Russia began because under the Gandamak Treaty of 1879, the British had pledged to join hands with the Afghans against foreign aggression. The British entered into negotiations with the Afghans and gave them aid. But at the same time they negotiated a deal with Russia which was allowed to retain Panjdeh, because the British were not ready to stake anything for what they called a frontier skirmish.⁴ Russia emerged successful in its venture of extending its borders right up to the outposts of Afghanistan.

The whole affair convinced the British of the importance of strengthening their control on the frontiers so as to prevent future conflicts. Henceforth special attention was paid to the question of frontier defence. Incidentally Kashmir came in for their special attention and they took steps to establish a British Residency in Kashmir and Sir Oliver St John became the first Resident in Kashmir.⁵

As early as 1880, a warning had been served by the Viceroy and conveyed through Gobind Sahi, who had been deputed by the Maharaja for making certain clarifications regarding his administration. In the interview, the Viceroy had told him :

You know, we have been governing India for the last so many years and consider the Maharaja as a sincere friend. We have never interfered into the internal affairs of the State. But, whereas the Maharaja is a Hindu, and the British Government have entrusted the Muslim population of Kashmir to him; and if he neglects to look after his subjects properly, the Government of India will be forced to take up the responsibilities of administration upon itself. Tell the Maharaja that if the administration is not set right, the British will intervene.⁶

Prior to 1885, the British Agent at Srinagar used to be called Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir. He was basically a Political Officer, who had to safeguard the imperial interests and inform the Governor-General about day-to-day happenings in the State and beyond its frontiers.⁷ Ranbir Singh had all along objected to the posting of such an officer in Kashmir, but he

had been told that no change in the duties of the officer will be made by the British without consultation.⁸ In March 1884, the Foreign Office decided that in future all correspondence relating to frontier matters or on any important subject concerning the State should be dealt with and through the Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir.⁹ The Maharaja protested and asked for permission to have direct correspondence with the Governor-General. He was told that the Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir was in a position to throw more light on the frontier matters, for he was posted on the spot.¹⁰

The British awaited the installation of Pratap Singh, so that a British Resident could be posted in Kashmir. The new Maharaja came to the throne on September 25, 1885¹¹ under the shadows of fear. As he was submissive by nature, he wanted to show extreme loyalty to the British from the first day of his accession. He declared that he will give "substantial proofs of unswerving and devoted loyalty to Her Imperial Majesty's Government and when the necessity arises, of placing all the resources of my country at the disposal of His Excellency the Viceroy and of personally joining the British army with the whole of my military force".¹²

From the beginning of his rule, Pratap Singh felt suspicious that some intrigue was going on against him. As such, he looked towards the British for support, but, as we shall see later, it did not come from them. Rather he was forced to abdicate through an intrigue sponsored by the British Resident in which Raja Amar Singh played the part of an arch traitor. The Maharaja was told that he had a difficult task before him. As such he should consult the Agent of the Viceroy, "at all times and be guided by his advice", to carry-out the views of the Viceroy.¹³ It clearly meant that the Maharaja had to carry out the orders of the British Resident in Kashmir, who had to keep a watch even beyond the northern frontiers of India. Sir Oliver St John became the first British Resident in Kashmir.¹⁴

Intelligence had reached that the Russian agents were at work in the trans-Himalayan region. In 1888, Capt. Grombach reached Hunza to have some secret talks with its Raja.

But the exact nature of the talks had not been divulged. It was feared that some sort of agreement was arrived at between them.

From this time forward, Safdar Ali Khan began to speak of the white monarch, as he called the Tsar of Russia, as his friend, and in his correspondence and conversation to allude to himself as the equal of that Sovereign, or the Emperor of China and of the Empress of India. ... a quarter of potentates who, in his opinion, divided the globe.¹⁵

During that very period, reports of similar activities of the Russian spies were reported by Durand from Gilgit. It transpired that Russia had instigated these frontier chiefs to foment trouble in the hilly territories. Accordingly, the British decided to organise the State forces for furthering imperial interests.¹⁶ At the same time, Durand held a political *darbar* at Gilgit, in which he invited all the frontier chiefs.¹⁷ In order to checkmate the efforts of Russia to win them over, he advised them to remain faithful and loyal to the British Government. The chiefs and their wazirs were granted subsidies and *mukariries* or fixed allowances. An amount of Rs 7500, nearly 100 rifles and 500 cartridges were given to the Mehtar Chitral.¹⁸

In 1888, Roberts¹⁹ visited Kashmir and was astonished to find that the Kashmir army was much larger than any of those belonging to any other Indian Chief. According to his estimate, the State army consisted of 18,000 regular soldiers and 66 guns and he recommended its reduction to 10,000 soldiers and 30 guns. Further he recommended appointment of a British Military Adviser to carry out the re-organisation of the Maharaja's forces. Accordingly, as decided, the British Military Officer alongwith three other British officers came and took up the difficult task of reducing the Maharaja's army, the construction of military roads and stationing of soldiers at strategic posts on the northern frontiers of India.²⁰ Chamberlain became the Military Adviser and accomplished his work successfully.²¹ The Maharaja was not inclined to agree to the British interference, but had to give way, because he had virtually become a non-entity.

In 1890, the famous Russian hunting expedition, led by Colonel Yonoff appeared on the Pamirs. The British ascertained that the Mir of Hunza had deputed his embassy to have secret talks with Baron Vrevsky, the Russian Governor-General of Turkistan. Both Davison and Younghusband had been externed by the Russians and the frontier chiefs had been instigated by the Russians to fight for their fatherland which resulted in their resorting to punitive raids on lands under British protection.²²

In the same year, news reached about the attack of the hilly people on the Maharaja's forces. Russia had instigated the Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar to drive out the foreigners and promised every support in their freedom struggle. Accordingly, they captured the fort of Chalt.²³ The Dogras were turned out of Nomal. The British got alarmed and decided to save Gilgit at any cost. The British Agent at Gilgit was entrusted with military operations against the frontier Chiefs.²⁴ An operational force was organised in 1891 and sent to Gilgit under the command of Durand. The bulk of the forces belonged to the State.²⁵ According to the British,

the object of the expedition was to disperse the gatherings of Hunza and Nagar tribesmen, which were threatening the Kashmir fort of Chalt and Gilgit and generally to bring under control the Hunza and Nagar Chiefs, who had broken their engagements with the British Agent, and had long acted in open defiance of their nominal superior, the Maharaja of Kashmir.²⁶

In organising his troops, Durand had to encounter great hardships. Having overcome all difficulties, he started his operation in December 1891. Important forts were captured by the British, and the tribesmen suffered heavy casualties and they were pursued as far as Misgar.²⁷ The frontier Chiefs submitted before the combined might of the British and the Maharaja. An agreement was signed by both the Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar "who acknowledged the suzerainty of Great Britain, as the overlord of Kashmir, and opened their territories to the free passage of officers deputed by the British Government."²⁸ Thus a vulnerable gap in the defences of the north-western frontier was closed

by the occupation of Hunza and Nagar in the Gilgit Valley, two strongholds commanding the road to Chitral and certain passes over the Hindu Kush.²⁹ The memorable campaign of 1891 hoisted the British flag on the very crest of the Hindu Kush.³⁰ Durand was entrusted with the work of delimiting the Indo-Afghan border. Soon afterwards the Pamir Boundary Commission started its work.³¹

Plowdon was deputed to Kashmir by the Political Department in 1888, as its Resident.³² He gave adverse reports about the Maharaja and set about to depose Pratap Singh. In this mission, he had the sympathies of no less a person than the Maharaja's brother, Raja Amar Singh, who pined for power. The Maharaja was forced to transfer powers of administration in favour of a Council, whose members held independent charge of their portfolios, subject to the overall control of the Resident.³³

The Council met on April 18, 1889 and sanctioned its code of conduct and rules of business. The following main items were sanctioned.

i) The Council will be composed as follows :

Raja Amar Singh,
Raja Ram Singh,
Pandit Suraj Kaul,
Bhag Ram,

and such other members, as may be added from time to time by the Government of India.

ii) Subject to the general control of the Resident, the Council shall be that final authority on all questions affecting the frontier relations of the State and its dependencies and in all matters appertaining to its internal administration.

iii) The Resident shall be the final referee in all matters and may veto any Resolution passed by the Council.³⁴

In July 1889, the Council decided that the Prime Minister will be the executive head of the administration.³⁵ Thus Amar Singh started his virtual rule as Prime Minister under the protection of the British Resident. It was declared that the Maharaja of Kashmir, who had found the intricacies of running the government too much for him, surrendered his powers for a

time to a council of regency.³⁶ No one has ever explained these difficulties. It seems that the British were not favourably inclined towards Pratap Singh who, though submissive, seemed to be mischievous. His brothers had intrigued against him for their personal ends and had spread many rumours about his disloyalty. Lord Dufferin had openly declared before the Chamber of Commerce in London that he would like the deposition of the Maharaja of Kashmir.³⁷

The scene was set for the deposition of Pratap Singh. Some letters said to have been written by the Maharaja to his agents and spies to contact the Russians³⁸ to carry out the murder of the British Resident, were produced by Amar Singh. The Maharaja was found guilty of treason by the British Resident, who asked for measures to be taken to depose Pratap Singh. Thus he was relieved of his duties as ruler. He got resigned to his fate saying that if his own brothers were determined to ruin him with false accusations he would submit to his fate.³⁹ An Urdu paper of Sialkot, known as the *Punjab Gazette* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta took up the cause of the deposed Maharaja. In its issue dated October 19, 1889, the *Punjab Gazette*, gave details of the publication of confidential documents of the Foreign Office published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, in which Plowdon had advised the Viceroy to annex Gilgit straightaway and take over the administration of Kashmir from the Maharaja.⁴⁰ The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* further alleged that the British wanted to colonise the Kashmir Valley with European families and turn out the 'black people'.⁴¹ It was feared that "the Kashmiris would become victims of the British, just as the Red Indians have been done away with in America".⁴²

In 1887, Dadabhai Naoroji established an Indian Centre at London, to secure support and sympathies of the British towards the Indian cause. In 1888, William Digby became its patron. This centre published many brochures in order to counteract propaganda against the Indians.⁴³ Digby, Bradlaugh and Norton delivered speeches on Indian problems. Digby felt interested in the Kashmir affairs and wrote his famous 'Condemned Unheard' in favour of Pratap Singh. He and Bradlaugh took up

the Maharaja's cause in the British Parliament.⁴⁴

It was alleged that the British had removed the Maharaja to pave the way for complete control of Kashmir and the hilly regions. The key to the whole situation is evident from the words : "It was Gilgit the Government wanted."⁴⁵

After having subjugated the tribal Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar, and having deposed the Maharaja, the British Resident became the de facto ruler. The affairs of the frontiers were entrusted to the British Agent at Gilgit. As a result of this, improvements were carried out in all spheres of administration. Communications between Gilgit and Srinagar were improved. A cart road had already been completed between Rawalpindi and Srinagar by 1890, because at that time Russia was threatening our frontiers in the Hindu Kush, and it was necessary that we should have a road for our troops, in order to resist, if necessary, any attack from that quarter.⁴⁶

For the same reasons, a strategic road was built between Srinagar and Gilgit to serve military needs. The frontiers of India had been extended to the most extreme point of Misgar and Imperial interests now touched the Russian borders.⁴⁷ The troops of the Maharaja were reorganised to serve Imperial designs and they were used even in the Black Mountain expedition of 1891.⁴⁸ Having achieved their objects, the British started the process of removing, what they called, 'misgovernment of Kashmir, which was becoming, every day, a more serious source of anxiety'.⁴⁹

Footnotes

1. Robert Throp, *Cashmere Misgovernment*, (Typed manuscript) p. 56 K.G.R.
2. Colos, December 1866. Copied from the *Calcutta Review*. As quoted in Robert Throp, *Cashmere Misgovernment* (Typed manuscript), p. 66. K.G.R.
3. P.E. Roberts, *History of British India*, p. 474.

4. A. Smith Vincent, *India in the British Period*, Part III, p. 759.
5. File No. 967 of 1885 (P.R.) K.G.R.
6. Minutes of interview dated 16th Baisakh, and 9th Jeth 1937 Samvat. File No. 835 of 1937 Samvat. (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
7. File No. 610 of 1874 (P.R.) K.G.R.
8. File No. 738-A of 1877 (P.R.) K.G.R.
9. File No. 942 of 1884 (P.R.) K.G.R.
10. File No. 515-B. (P.R.) K.G.R.
11. File No. 862/31 of 1943 Samvat. (V.R.)
12. Manifesto dated September 25, 1885 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
13. File No. 967 of 1885 (P.R.) K.G.R.
14. Ibid. Durand to Pratap Singh, December 14, 1885.
15. Curzon, *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note Book*, p. 185.
16. Earl Roberts of Kandahar, *Forty-one Years in India*, p. 524.
17. File No. 1091-A of 1946 (P.R.) K.G.R.
18. File No. 1091-C of S 1946 (P.R.) K.G.R.
19. Earl Roberts. C-in-C. of India.
20. Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*, p. 527.
21. Lt. Col. Vevilla Chamberlain.
22. Curzon, *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note Book*, p. 186.
23. Ibid., p. 185.
24. File No. 1055, Part I (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
25. File No. 51/A-4 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
26. Military Deptt. Notification dated Simla, April 29, 1892, published in *The Gazetteer of India*, April 30, 1892.
27. *The Gazetteer of India*, April 30, 1892.
28. Curzon, *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note Book*, p. 186.
29. V.A. Smith, *India in the British Period*, p. 765.
30. Curzon, *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note Book*, p. 188.
31. Fraser Tytler William. For evaluation of the Pamir boundary, see Afghanistan, Appendix IV.
32. File No. 687/23 of 1944 Samvat. (V.R.)
33. File No. 11 of 1896 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
34. File No. 23 of 1902 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
35. File No. 11 of 1896 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
36. V.A. Smith, *India in the British Period*, p. 767.
37. Speech of Dufferin on October 29, 1889 as reported in the *Punjab Gazette*, Sialkot, November 2, 1889.
38. As the fear of Russian movements across the Pamirs continued to

disturb the British, they deposed the Maharaja by accusing him of complicity with Russia. Joseph Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, p. 279.

39. William Digby, *Condemned Unheard*.
40. *Punjab Gazette*, Sialkot, October 19, 1889.
41. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, October 24, 1889. Also *Punjab Gazette*, Sialkot November. 2, 1889.
42. *Punjab Gazette*, November 2, 1889.
43. *Punjab Gazette*, October 12, 1889.
44. File No. 34 of 1890 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
45. William Digby, *Condemned Unheard*, p. 103.
46. C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 30.
47. *The Gazetteer of India*, April 30, 1892.
48. File No. 2 of 1891 (A.R.) K.G.R.
49. Viceroy to Pratap Singh, on accepting the deposition of the Maharaja.

6

RESIDENT VS. RULER

LANDSDOWNE VISITED KASHMIR in 1890. Pratap Singh had all along appealed to him for restoration of his powers as ruler of Kashmir. His request was granted and a policy of gradual restoration of powers in favour of Pratap Singh was inaugurated by the Viceroy.¹ In 1891, he was made the President of the Council and Amar Singh stepped down to the position of Vice-President. The Resident informed the State Council that whereas "the number of visitors to Kashmir has increased and opening of the Jhelum Valley road will doubtless attract more and more British capital in the valley; the Residency will have full powers of civil and criminal jurisdiction over Europeans, Americans, Christians and native Indian subjects of Her Majesty". The State Council resolved that a reply be sent in the affirmative.²

This shows that the Council worked as an obedient agent of the Residency. The British took a generous view regarding the Maharaja and started restoring his powers one by one and this process continued up to the last day of his life. His case had attracted much attention in the Press as well as in the British Parliament. Accordingly, the Viceroy had started a long-term plan restoring the powers of the Maharaja. Now he became the President of the Council in place of his rival Amar Singh. Digby, who had pleaded his cause in England and published 'Condemned Unheard' in favour of the Maharaja, asked for money for the services he had rendered.³ Even though he had become the President of the Council, no decision could be

carried out without the authority of the Resident, who was the final referee in all matters and had the exclusive power of the veto.⁴ Pratap Singh had stepped down from the position of the Maharaja to the position of the President of a Council constituted by Amar Singh and others who were his enemies. It all resulted in a tug of war and dirty palace conspiracies between him and the members of the Council on the one hand and between him and the Resident on the other. In 1892, a case was instituted against the Maharaja, before the Resident, where it was alleged that he had entered into a conspiracy with Pandit Nabh with the intention of murdering Amar Singh. One Brahamchari produced three letters and a telegram alleged to have been sent by Pandit Nabh, acting under the instructions of Pratap Singh, for "taking the lives of Amar Singh, Sawal Singh and Fakira", for a handsome pecuniary reward. One letter expressed satisfaction of the Maharaja, on the murder of Sawal Singh and held out promises of reward for the murder of others.⁵ But the case failed and the Resident tried to reconcile both the brothers, but with no results. The Maharaja was only a figure-head and the real power was exercised by his brother, Amar Singh, who had the full backing of the Resident. Nobody took any notice of him, nor cared for him.⁶ Accordingly, he began to make numerous complaints against the Resident before the Government of India.

He wrote these representations himself, extracts whereof are recorded here to show his pitiable condition:

I very much regret to say the treatment of the present Resident, Col. Sir A. Talbot towards me has been anything but desirable especially since his advent to Kashmir. In the misfortune of myself, my State and my subjects, the reconciliation between me and my brother.....have gone to winds. Col. Talbot has on the contrary created disagreement among us by setting Raja Shri Ram Singh against me, has been giving him such advice as are prejudicial to the least interests of family union. The whole administration has fallen into a chaotic state in consequence of the attitude of opposition which Col. Talbot has adopted against me.⁷

R. B. Bakshi Parmanand, my brother (Raja Amar Singh) and other high State as well as British employees, disrespect me and the Resident does not take any action at all but gives them encouragement against me.⁸

All orders are issued by the Resident himself, the Council only copy these orders in their agenda and pass them without slight demur and I am not aware what is going on in my absence.⁹

The matter was placed before the Viceroy, who expressed his regrets at the 'misunderstanding' which had occurred between the Maharaja and the Resident. The Maharaja was told that "it is His Excellency's desire that there should always be a cordial and friendly understanding between your Highness and the Resident in all matters connected with the administration of the State". He was advised to strictly observe and adhere to the terms of the Constitution, which was prescribed by Lord Lansdowne.¹⁰ He pleaded that he was "leaving no stone unturned for keeping friendly relations" with the Resident, but without success. He also complained of malicious intrigues against him.¹¹ Pratap Singh complained that Amar Singh provided assistance to Pandit Salig Ram for the writing and publication of malicious articles against him and his well-wishers, in the newspapers of Sialkot.¹²

The Maharaja was told that the work of the Council was to be carried on in accordance with the orders of the Government of India.¹³ Amar Singh, on the other hand, complained that the Maharaja had taken into service all those officials who were dismissed from time to time and these persons instigated trouble in the State. He further complained that the place is 'thronged by Kashmiris of low repute' who hiss, shout and throw stones on the members of the Council. He reported an incident which occurred on June 2, 1897.¹⁴

In 1898, the Maharaja was issued a stern warning by the Resident, who told him that:

It is essential that your Highness should recognise the obligations, as distinguished from the privileges, of an hereditary ruler. Your Highness had advanced untenable claims to the exercise of unlimited powers as absolute

owner of the State, and you have exercised the full powers, in respect to some of the forests. The ruin your Highness has permitted to be wrought in these particular forests must be regarded as an index of your fitness for exercising unrestricted authority. Your Highness does not appear to have learnt that powers entail responsibility. It would be impossible to contenance your dealings with the Kashmir State, with all its wealth and resources, as a toy which your birth-right entitles you to break or spoil at your choice.¹⁵

This was a very stern warning and had a subtle effect on the Maharaja. He was told to relinquish all his claims to any forest in the State, but he represented that the forests in the State belonged to him and it was against the traditions of the ruling family to sell out these private forests to the State. He was told that his claim to the exclusive enjoyment of the income to be derived from these forests had not been established and as such could not be admitted. The Maharaja represented his case to the Viceroy but he was informed by the Resident that:

the Government of India have given careful attention to the further representation submitted by His Highness, the Maharaja. They do not, however, find in them any sufficient reason for departing from the views which they have already expressed.¹⁶

Pratap Singh had been defeated and he had no alternative but to remain submissive. A grave trouble had arisen upon the northern frontiers of India and the British could not afford any sign of disobedience from native rulers. They contemplated large-scale operation to restore British prestige in Chitral, so that a strict watch could be kept over the happenings on the other side of Hindu Kush.¹⁷

The trouble arose due to the war of succession for the throne of Chitral in 1895. Major Robertson, the British Agent at Gilgit was sent to Chitral to report on the situation.¹⁸ In the meanwhile, the Chief of Jandul also intervened and occupied Chitral. The British forces were attacked and besieged. Hence the British decided to lead a two-pronged attack on Chitral from Gilgit and from Peshawar. In these campaigns, troops of the Maharaja

played an important part in suppressing the Chitralies and the Pathans, who were fighting against British intervention. The British achieved success in this campaign and the Viceroy "recognised the devoted aid given by the loyal troops of the His Highness, the Maharaja of Kashmir".¹⁹ Medals were granted to certain Kashmir troops and the Maharaja was conferred with the rank of 'Major General'.²⁰ The Government of India decided to maintain their position in Chitral. A British garrison was kept in Chitral, Dir and Swat. It was decided that the retention of Chitral was necessary for the defence of the frontiers. The British policy henceforth would be to turn these tribal elements as "a source of strength to aid instead of obstructing us in the defence of our great Indian Empire".²¹ Both the British as well as the Russian spheres of influence were now distinctly marked and divided by Afghanistan serving as a buffer. The map from the *Relief of Chitral* by Younghusband clearly demarcates their respective positions. The Pamir Boundary Commission had ceded to Afghanistan a narrow strip of hilly region, in order to prevent contact between Russia and Britain and thus ensure peace on the borders of India.²² Curzon assumed the office of Viceroy of India in 1899. He initiated a policy of intervention in the affairs of Tibet with the aim of obtaining advantages. As usual Russia came in to put obstacles in her way; for Russia always aimed at keeping "England quiet in Europe by keeping her employed in Asia".²³ Russia's influence in Tibet had risen due to Agwan Dorjief, a Russian born Buddhist monk, who had settled in Tibet since 1881.²⁴ The Chinese were interested in Tibet and wanted to convert it into a Chinese Province.²⁵ But there prevailed strife and civil war in China. The British had full information about the activities of the Chinese in Central Asia and they were fully informed about Tibet.²⁶ In 1900, the British troops were equipped with arms and ammunition for a march into China.²⁷ The Maharaja, in order to prove his loyalty to the British Crown, offered the services of the troops for a campaign against China.²⁸ It was felt that both Russia and China had agreed to establish a Russian protectorate in Tibet.²⁹ The British deputed an expedition to subdue Tibet under the command of Col. Francis Younghusband. Tibet could not be annexed due to

Russian protests.³⁰ From that day onwards the Tibetans found themselves sandwiched. They got engaged in a life and death struggle to maintain their independence which practically got crushed by 1910.³¹

However, there occurred in 1908 a local disturbance at Damchak on the Ladakh border when a party of Tibetans committed a theft in the area. However it did not result in sparking off trouble between Ladakh and Tibet.³² During the same period, a Bengali faqir was found in Ladakh. He was expelled from the State.³³

Colvin,³⁴ the new Resident in Kashmir reviewed in 1903 the mutual relations between the Maharaja, his Prime Minister and the Resident. He formulated new arrangements as under :

- i) Abstract of proceedings of the Council to be sent, periodically to the Resident, as usual;
- ii) heads of the Departments to be appointed and removed only with the concurrence of the Government of India;
- iii) the Resident's suggestions to be duly respected and his authoritative advice followed in all matters;
- iv) the Maharaja and his Prime Minister to consult the Resident and accept his advice before initiating new measures or altering old ones.³⁵

The new proposals of the Resident brought the Maharaja into the picture but he was required to carry on, subject to the advice of the Resident. Previously Pratap Singh had no say in the Government and the whole administration was carried out by Amar Singh under the protection of the Resident. Now the Maharaja could rule, but in fact he had to work under the Resident.

Lord Curzon created the North West Frontier Province in 1901, with headquarters at Peshawar, directly under the control of the Government of India. He managed to keep friendly terms with the Amir of Afghanistan and took measures to improve the management of the tribal frontier.³⁶ In 1902, Pratap

Singh went to Peshawar to wait upon Lord Curzon and plead his case for restoration of full powers.³⁷ He also sent Kashmiri silk brocades as presents to Queen Victoria, through Thomas Wardle.³⁸ By 1905, the Imperial Government had consolidated its position on the frontiers of India and as such felt inclined to partially restore some of the powers of administration to Pratap Singh. It was announced in 1903 that Lord Ampthill would be the next Viceroy.³⁹ Pratap Singh wrote several letters to him for restoration of powers.⁴⁰ Lord Ampthill visited Kashmir in 1904.⁴¹ He was assured by Pratap Singh that he was desirous of ruling his State for the benefit of his subjects and he would pay due regard "to the obligations to the British Government". He prayed that the Council be abolished and the reins of the Government be given in his hands.⁴² Col. T.C. Pears submitted a note on the new arrangements for the administration of Kashmir before the Viceroy.⁴³ Among other things, the new arrangements arrived at bringing efficiency into the administration of the State, thereby affording "means for the association therewith of subjects of the State."⁴⁴

In 1905, the Viceroy, while communicating orders regarding abolition of the State Council, ordered that powers of the Maharaja would be restored, subject to the following conditions:

- i) That His Highness will exercise his powers as advised by the Resident and will take no step of importance without his consultation;
- ii) that the annual budget of the State will be prepared and passed in consultation with the Resident;
- iii) that all major Heads of Departments will be appointed or removed with the concurrence of the Government of India;
- iv) that the Maharaja will appoint a Minister with the previous approval of the Government of India, who will be responsible for placing the business of all departments before His Highness.

The Maharaja agreed to the above conditions and the new administrative arrangements came into force with the approval of the Resident.⁴⁵ Lord Curzon, the outgoing Viceroy and

Governor-General of India, paid a visit to Jammu, to invest Pratap Singh with powers of administration, hitherto vested in the State Council. The new powers were announced in a formal *Durbar* on October 26, 1905.⁴⁶

In his speech, the Viceroy said that it was his privilege to install an Indian prince and confer upon him enhanced powers of administration. The British policy towards the feudatory princes in India is one of the greatest responsibility and as such "sometiems it may impose upon that authority unwelcome or distasteful obligations. Anything that enhances the security and adds to the dignity of the Indian princes is, above all things, welcome to the British Government". Lord Curzon added that governing powers are bestowed upon a ruler for his faithful devotion to the interests of his people and by loyal attachment to the paramount power.⁴⁷ Concerning disquieting rumours that the State was about to be taken over by the Crown, Lord Curzon said that all these rumours were absurd and it was the policy of the British Government "to retain the native States of India" intact, to prolong and fortify their separate existence, and to safeguard the prestige and authority of their rulers.⁴⁸ Curzon reminded the Maharaja that "your State possesses a mountain frontier and towards its protection you make the largest contribution of any State in India to Imperial defence" and as such "in all important matters you will be able to rely upon the counsel and support of the British Resident".⁴⁹

Pratap Singh in his reply assured the Viceroy that "I shall prove by my conduct in the administration of the State affairs that I am not unworthy of the confidence reposed in me". He further said that His Majesty, the King Emperor may be assured

of the feelings of the most steadfast devotion and unflinching loyalty to the British Crown, which animate me and which have characterised the ruling family of Kashmir in the past and which shall ever continue to form a distinguishing mark in the future.⁵⁰

In the new arrangement, the Maharaja was to be assisted by a Chief Minister, and Lord Curzon had bestowed that post upon Amar Singh, who had played a prominent part in the deposition of the Maharaja. Hence there was no chance of their

becoming friends. Accordingly, in 1908, the Maharaja proposed the removal of Amar Singh from his post of Chief Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the State forces. He represented his case before the Resident saying that Amar Singh "has been the cause of his abdication; he has humiliated my condition and slighted me in the eyes of the public and proved me unfit for governing the State and whenever he got an opportunity, he did not fail to make some conspiracy or intrigue against me".⁵¹

The Maharaja suggested that some European be brought as his Chief Minister. The British Government rejected his proposal and he was told to accept the decision of the Viceroy in a spirit of friendliness.⁵² The Maharaja remarked that the decision of the Viceroy was 'simply heartbreaking and greatly disappointing' to him.⁵³

The Maharaja had personal grievances with Raja Amar Singh and to put it in his own words:

He is my bitterest enemy, and you wish me to confide in him, who has not spared me the disgrace whenever he could. In the time of Mr Colvin, the Resident, when Late Tikka Sahib has to (be) born, he told Mr Colvin that the news of the Maharani's conception was not correct and that I could not produce a child and similar other thankless things and the result was that Mr Colvin wanted to send Mrs Colvin to visit personally and find out for herself if the news was a correct one and on my telling him, if even after my agreeing to allow Mrs Colvin to satisfy herself of the truth of the Maharani's conception Raja Amar Singh then tells that the lady presented by me to Mrs Colvin was not the Maharani, but some other woman, how shall I be able to satisfy that; so it was after all decided that Raja Baldeo Singh's Rani might be sent for (she) fully recognised the Maharani and asked to report on her Dharama and oath, the Truth of the news and consequently this was done. Do you say that I should trust such a man?⁵⁴

In another letter to the Resident, Pratap Singh writes as under:

All my troubles, ever since my acceding to the Gaddi, have been the outcome of his gymnastics of intrigue with his nature full of extreme selfishness, jealousy and ambition, polished by an acute and clever sense of intrigue, he has made my life altogether miserable.⁵⁵

The Maharaja pressed for the removal of Amar Singh from the post of Chief Minister again and again but without any success. He requested the Viceroy to allow him to adopt a son, but his request was rejected. In frustration, Pratap Singh wrote to the Resident that his relations with Amar Singh have remained strained for the last 21 years and as such it is not possible for him to have confidence in him. He pleaded that

if notwithstanding his character and selfish ambitions and bad attitude towards me, he is considered indispensable for the State, then the Government may declare him straightaway the ruler of the State in place of me and order me to clear out.⁵⁶

The Resident informed the Maharaja that the Viceroy desires of him

to leave him (Chief Minister) free, as the Emperor leaves the Prime Minister of England free to perform all the minor duties of a Chief Minister, while Your Highness performs all the larger and the more important functions of a Ruler.⁵⁷

Raja Amar Singh died in the year 1909, leaving Pratap Singh free from worries. The Resident got fixed the annual grant of the Maharaja to $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs and he was told to be economical and not incur such expenses as are not legitimate charge against the State revenue."⁵⁸ In 1914, the Government of India further relaxed the restrictions placed on the powers of the Maharaja in respect of budget and finances. The Resident observed that the Maharaja could prepare the annual budget and incur expenditure provided for therein, because as a result of the satisfaction with which His Highness' increasing interest in the administration and the greater efficiency the Durbar's departmental methods have been observed, "there was no need to place any restriction on the Maharaja".⁵⁹ After the termination of the

Great War of 1914-18, the Maharaja made several requests to the British Government for grant of full powers. He assured the Viceroy that

if full powers of the administration are given to me, I will, for the present, avail myself of the friendly advice of the Resident in all important matters, such as preparation of the Budget, frontier questions and other weighty problems.⁶⁰

The Maharaja went on pressing his demand for full powers from time to time. In one of his representations to the Viceroy he writes as under :

It was in the year 1889 that a Council of Administration was constituted with myself as the President to administer my State of Jammu and Kashmir. It lasted for 14 years until 1905, when certain enhanced powers were permitted by his Excellency Lord Curzon, the Governor-General and Viceroy of India, though a number of limitations were placed on my power. Nearly 15 years have gone by and the enhanced powers have been exercised by myself in a perfectly satisfactory manner.

He pleaded that "he may be permitted to exercise his powers independently as other Rulers of Indian States do and he will take advice of the Resident into consideration most scrupulously".⁶¹ He gave the above undertaking and Lord Chelmsford restored powers to him in March 1921.⁶² A new State Council was constituted on January 28, 1922 with the following :

1. Senior Member
2. Foreign Member
3. Revenue Member
4. Law Member
5. Home Member
6. Member Incharge Commerce & Industries.

The heir apparent, Hari Singh, son of Amar Singh, was given precedence over all the members of the Council. The new constitution provided that a Representative Assembly shall be established in Jammu and Kashmir, consisting of the mem-

bers of the State Council and an other 50 members, to be nominated or elected.⁶³

It appears that the British Government had nothing to worry about Kashmir, for its administration had been set on right lines. The position of the Resident was strong and the Maharaja was not in a mood to oppose the Resident. Pratap Singh had become old and had lost all interest in life and most of the work was done by Hari Singh, the Senior Member of the Council. The tug of war between the Maharaja and the Resident was at an end. The British had decided to treat Hari Singh as the heir apparent to succeed Pratap Singh. He was being trained for future rulership and placed under Wakefield, who was appointed Chief Secretary of the Council.⁶⁴

In 1922, the Viceroy proposed amalgamation of the post of Resident with that of Agent to the Governor-General for the Punjab States. The Maharaja did not agree and as such the proposal was dropped.⁶⁵

The Maharaja did not like Hari Singh working as a Senior Member of the Council. The latter asked for immediate decentralization and subsequent delegation of powers to the Council. The Maharaja, who never wanted to part with his powers, even at his death-bed, opposed the aforesaid proposal.⁶⁶ Accordingly, Hari Singh submitted a secret note to the Resident about unsatisfactory working of the Council.⁶⁷ The Maharaja was told by the Resident in 1923 to renounce his position as the President of the Council in favour of Hari Singh. He refused to accept this suggestion.⁶⁸ However, the Resident succeeded in effecting an arrangement, whereby the Maharaja agreed to abstain from attending meetings of the Council except when some matter of vital importance was to be discussed.⁶⁹ In 1924, the Maharaja was told to abstain from attending the meetings of the Council, where the work could go on during his absence and he would be informed of the proceedings.⁷⁰ Pratap Singh had to yield. Finally, he agreed that in future he would not attend the meetings of the Council.⁷¹ The following year he passed away, a forlorn and a frustrated person. His death marked the end of the political drama in which the Resident and the Maharaja played the opposites and Amar Singh acted as the

villain. It covered a long span of nearly twenty years from 1905 to 1925, in which the Resident was all supreme and powerful. This marked the end of an era and Kashmir left behind an autocratic phase to enter into a modern era.

Footnotes

1. File No. 9 of 1896 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
2. File No. 6 of 1896 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
3. Digby to Pratap Singh. November 20, 1891, File No. 2 of 1890. (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
4. File No. 23 of 1902 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
5. Parma Nand to Pratap Singh (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
6. File No. 1 of 1892 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
7. Pratap Singh to H.S. Barnes, Foreign Secretary, August 27, 1896. (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
8. September 4, 1896. File No. 616 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
9. September 10, 1896 (Ibid)
10. Ibid.
11. Pratap Singh to Burnes. October 3, 1896 (K.G.R.)
12. File No. 10 of 1893 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
13. File No. 16 of 1896 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
14. Amar Singh to Talbot. File No. 67 of 1897 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
15. A.C. Talbot. Resident in Kashmir to Maharaja Pratap Singh, January 5, 1898. K.G.R.
16. File No. 12 of 1897 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
17. Younghusband, *The Relief of Chitral*.
18. File No. 11 of 1895 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
19. Younghusband, *The Relief of Chitral*. p. 132.
20. File No. 97 of 1895 and File No. 107 of 1896 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
21. Younghusband, *The Relief of Chitral* pp. 180-83.
22. 'Papers Relating to Tibet'. Foreign Office, London. HMSO, 1904 as quoted in *India and Anglo-Soviet Relations*. Chattar Singh Samra, p. 14.
23. George N. Curzon. *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and The Anglo-Russian Question*. p. 321.

24. Chattar Singh Samra, *India and Anglo-Soviet Relations*, p. 14.
25. File No. 123/F.A-12 of 1908 (O.E.R.)
26. File No. 26 of 1892 (O.E.R.)
27. File No. 34/M-254 of 1912 (O.E.R.)
28. File No. 44/Q-11 of 1900 (O.E.R.)
29. Chattar Singh Samra, 'Papers relating to Tibet'. Foreign Office, London. As quoted in *India and Anglo-Soviet Relations*.
30. Ibid.
31. File No. 269/H-28/C of 1910 (O.E.R.)
32. File No. 110/A-2 of 1908 (O.E.R.)
33. File No. 72/N-362 of 1908 (O.E.R.)
34. Col. E.G. Colvin. Resident in Kashmir. He was a personal friend of Pratap Singh. File No. 10 of 1898 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
35. File No. 23 of 1902 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
36. V.A. Smith, *India in the British Period*, pp. 771-72.
37. File No. 7 of 1902 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
38. File No. 113/H.55 of 1903 (O.E.R.)
39. File No. 14 of 1903 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
40. Ibid.
41. File No. 1 of 1904 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
42. File No. 15 of 1905 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
43. File No. 90-C of EN. of 1905 (P.D.R.) K.G.R.
44. File No. 32 of 1923 Samvat. (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
45. File No. 15 of 1905 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
46. Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1905-06, p. 2.
47. File No. 6 of 1905 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
48. Speech of Lord Curzon, October 26, 1905.
49. File No. 6 of 1905 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
50. Ibid.
51. File No. 13 of 1908 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
52. File No. 13 of 1908 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
53. Ibid.
54. Pratap Singh to the Resident. September 12, 1908. (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
55. File No. 13 of 1908 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
56. Ibid.
57. Francis Younghusband to Pratap Singh. July 11, 1908. File No. 13 of 1908 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
58. File No. 91/R/215 of 1914 (P.D.R.)
59. File No. 108 (E) of 1914 (P.D.R.) K.G.R.

60. File No. 31 of 1918 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
61. File No. 7 of 1918 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
62. File No. 104 of 1920 (C) (P.D.R.) K.G.R. Also File No. 9 of 1929 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
63. Ibid.
64. File No. 32 of 1923 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
65. File No. 24 of 1922 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
66. File No. 32 of 1923 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
67. Ibid.
68. File No. 32 of 1923 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
69. Ibid. Sir Johnwood to Hari Singh. June 8, 1924. K.G.R.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.

IMPACT OF THE BRITISH POLICY

PRATAP SINGH CAME to power in 1885 and remained on the scene upto 1925. During these forty years, Anglo-Russian rivalry bared its many fangs.

The advance of Russia towards the south-east resulted in the deposition of Pratap Singh in 1888.¹ The Amir Commission, consisting of British and Russian representatives, brought peace on the sensitive borders and it resulted in the restoration of the Maharaja, though with limited powers. He was formally conferred with powers by Curzon in 1905.² In view of the German threat, both the British and the Russians decided to act as allies. With the easing of the situation, Pratap Singh was favoured with more powers. The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought about significant changes in Anglo-Russian relations. Hereafter their interests clashed, which had repercussions throughout the world.³ In Kashmir, it resulted in the taking over of Gilgit by the British, so that it could serve as one of their observation posts on the north of India.⁴ For nearly twenty years the British Resident was the supreme authority in Kashmir. During this period, many progressive reforms were carried out and the masses were freed from heavy taxes, extortion, and forced labour. Means of communication were improved; agriculture and industry were developed and educational facilities provided for. The administration was overhauled and a beginning was made towards democratic rule. All this was achieved by the British Residency in Kashmir and the State

Council acted under its directions. It was an era of reforms in every sphere of the life of the people.

Dr Wolf writing in 1832, in his *Mission to Bokhara*, opined that after the conquest of the Punjab, Kashmir would fall into the hands of the British.

This will not only lead to the costly product of its looms being our own, but to the diffusion of the Gospel of Christ among the dense population inhabiting the loveliest valley upon earth, Cashmeer. From thence it would spread into Tibet, Cashgar, Turkistan, and Chinese Tartary, as I have already mentioned. I would like to see whole colonies of English artists, men of science and literature and divines, proceeding to Cashmeer.

In 1715, Ippolito Desideri and Mannel Freyre went to Kashmir for missionary work. They also went to Leh and learnt Tibetan. They succeeded in establishing a Mission at Lhasa.⁵

Cosma Sandor, the famous Hungarian, came to Kashmir in 1822 and then left for Ladakh. He studied Tibetan language and literature at Zanskar. The Church Mission Society began its work in India in the year 1807. The Kashmir Mission, which formed a branch of the Punjab Mission started its work in 1849, but the main Mission at Srinagar was established by Robert Clark and Col. Martin in 1864.⁶ The reasons for establishing a Mission at Srinagar as advocated by Clark are as under :

The valley is remarkably fitted by its geographical position, by its salubrious climate, and by its beauty and fertility, to become a great Christian Missionary Centre for the vast countries of Tibet, China, Yarkand, Afghanistan and Turkistan, which lie around it.⁷

They knew that Buddhism had penetrated into Central Asia and China from Kashmir and as such they wanted to tread into the same footsteps.

Robert Clark started his work under strong opposition. His effigy was burnt by a Brahmin priest of Srinagar in 1855.⁸ The three earliest Christians were Suliman, Shahman and Yakub.

Suliman was a Kashmiri by birth. However, Clark had to work under extreme difficulties, owing to the determined opposition of those in authority and the hostility of some people. Dr Elmslie came to Kashmir in 1865 for medical work. The presence of the Christian Missionaries was not liked by the officials, who arranged a demonstration at Srinagar in which effigies of the Resident and the Missionaries were burnt.⁹ The Dewan informed the Resident that as Kashmir was mostly populated by Muslims, "who are known all over the world as fanatics", the presence of a *padri* in Kashmir would result in trouble.¹⁰ By taking refuge under so-called Muslim fanaticism, he wanted the Resident to dissuade the Missionaries from entering Kashmir. Accordingly, the issue relating to the safety of the Christian Missionaries was discussed and the British told the State Government to take all precautionary measures. It was complained that Clark had settled in Srinagar and had started preaching on the roadside. Further, he had started tours of the valley, and had contravened provisions of the 'Instructions for Travellers to Kashmir', as sanctioned by R.N. Davis, Secretary to the Punjab Government. The Maharaja pleaded that out of the total four lakh population of Srinagar, only thirty thousand were Hindus and the rest were Muslims "who from earliest time are known for fanatic beliefs and have killed and massacred others for religion and it is feared that in accordance with their nature, they may resort to insult the Christian Missionaries".¹¹

But the British ignored these excuses of the Maharaja for they knew that bogey of fanaticism on the part of the masses had no base. On the other hand, Kashmiris had suffered under the Dogras. "Kashmir has been conquered and reconquered by the invaders who have murdered, oppressed, and enslaved their ancestors and so ground the life and heart out of them that their better selves have been crushed."¹² The Maharaja even deputed his Dewan, Jawala Sahi to wait upon the Governor-General and request him not to allow these Christian Missionaries into Kashmir, but his pleas were rejected.¹³

The State Government accepted the proposal of Lord Nisbet, Lord Bishop of Lahore, regarding construction of a

church at Srinagar, on certain conditions. It was decided that the church building would remain under the overall control of the Maharaja who, in order to placate the sympathies of the British, showed his eagerness to act as patron of the church.¹⁴

But the opposition of the State Government reached its zenith in 1867 and Robert Clark was not allowed to come to Kashmir.¹⁵

The Maharaja appointed intelligence men to enquire into the working of the Missions in 1867.¹⁶ It would appear that from the very beginning the attitude of the Maharaja towards the Christian Missionaries was one of suspicion and hate. On the other hand, the British were of the view that "the Kashmiris needed spiritual as well as bodily help". Some of the British officers, including Sir Robert Montgomery, Lt-Governor of the Punjab subscribed and sent the first medical mission to Srinagar in 1864, under the leadership of Dr Elmslie. The first Mission hospital was built by him in Srinagar.¹⁷ Another hospital was built at Srinagar for European visitors in 1890 and the State provided a site for it. A ward for lunatics was also built at Srinagar.

The Missionaries provided much relief to the masses in some way or the other. They established hospitals, schools, orphanages and asylums for the destitute.¹⁸ Some of them even fought for the rights of the people and rose against injustice. One such missionary was Robert Throp, who is one of the earliest freedom-fighters in Kashmir. His mind was directed towards the Masses, and he made his business to collect information and publish it. He brought the evil condition of the people to the notice of the British Government and also wrote to the newspapers in England. He was externed but he refused to oblige. Next morning he died of poison.¹⁹

The famous Moravian Mission of Ladakh deserves attention, for it did much useful work in the field of medicine, education, history and archaeology. The Mission also published the famous *Ladakhi Akhbar* which was printed on litho in Tibetan and was started in 1903.²⁰ It goes to the credit of Dr Marx of the Mission to write voluminous books on the antiquities, history, art and architecture of Ladakh.

Knowls founded Mission schools in Kashmir and the first English school was established in 1881. It goes to the credit of Missionaries like Rev. Tyndale Bisco, who gave a filip to modern education in Kashmir.²¹ Then the State also followed suit and two colleges were established at Srinagar and Jammu through the efforts of Mrs Annie Besant. Then the foundation stone of the Hindu College at Srinagar was laid in 1906.²² Similarly a State College was established at Jammu in 1907.²³

The growth of education led to serious competition between the Kashmiris and non-Kashmiris on the one hand and between Kashmiri Pandits and Kashmiri Muslims on the other, for jobs under the Government. In 1912, a Kashmiri Muslim Conference strongly condemned the policy of preference given to non-State subjects over State subjects by the Maharaja's administration.²⁴ Pratap Singh issued a notification prohibiting the State subject from agitating against the British.²⁵

Russia seized Panjdeh, an Afghan outpost, in 1884. Fear as well as mistrust of the Russian manoeuvres across the Pamirs haunted the minds of the British.²⁶

As Kashmir had acquired an importance in the context of Anglo-Russian rivalry, the question of developing road communications attracted the foremost attention of the British. It was necessary to have roads to fortify the military position on the frontiers as well as to resist, if necessary, an attack from Russia.²⁷ A reconnaissance of the country for a railway line to connect the Punjab with Kashmir was started in 1887, under the supervision of Major-General de Bourted. Twenty-two different routes were examined for this purpose and four were approved.²⁸

J.A. Anderson, Engineer-in-Chief and a staff of nine engineers were appointed in 1890 by the Government of India, to carry out the detailed survey of the Jhelum route which, starting from the North-Western Railway about Mandra Station goes up the valley of Jhelum river to Srinagar in Kashmir.²⁹ It was also considered advisable to connect Gilgit with Srinagar and Rawalpindi. Mr Elin Stuart and Victor De. Lepus, who had been on a tour to Gilgit, opined that it was advisable to link Kashmir with the Punjab, through a railway line on the banks

of the river Indus, which could contact Gilgit, Dras and Srinagar with a tunnel at Zojila.³⁰ Dr Handerson had prepared other route maps also including the route from Lahul to Yarkand.³¹ At the same time, various proposals regarding construction of a railway line to Srinagar were considered.³² It is evident that the British were eager to have a network of communications on the north-western frontiers of India. These routes ultimately would lead them to Central Asia. Improvements to Lacha Long road in Ladakh were carried under the supervision of Mr Morris, the famous British engineer.³³

In 1888, the Viceroy deputed Col. Parry Nisbet to push on the cart road from Rawalpindi to Srinagar. He succeeded in completing the work in a short span of two years.³⁴ In 1890, a railway line between Jammu and Sialkot was completed by the British and it was placed under the charge of the North Western Railway.³⁵ The Banihal cart road between Jammu and Srinagar was built in 1915.³⁶

The British paid much attention towards trade in Ladakh, for it was through Leh that trade was carried out with Central Asia. In January 1863, an agreement had been arrived at between Kashmir and the Punjab regarding payment of duties on export and import of articles in Kashmir and Ladakh. Accordingly, import duties were reduced and the British decided to recompensate the Maharaja.³⁷ They discouraged him from imposing custom duties on merchandise from Central Asian countries. Accordingly, the matter was discussed with the Maharaja, who agreed to reduce custom duties, on the condition that the loss suffered was to be paid by the British, on a fifty-fifty basis.³⁸

Dr Calay was sent to Ladakh in 1867 to make a comprehensive survey of the Central Asian trade with a view to examining the possibilities of capturing these markets for the British products. Accordingly, he made several suggestions regarding improving trade relations with Central Asian countries. His proposals were accepted by the Governor-General.³⁹

Kashmir used to be the chief importer of wool and pashmina from Central Asia and Ladakh. In 1865, there were nearly thirty thousand shawl-weavers in Srinagar.⁴⁰ Central

Asian traders had to pay a tax, called *zakat* to the Maharaja. Besides other taxes, *zakat* was abolished in 1866, after necessary discussion with the Punjab Government.⁴¹

Dr Calay, the British Trade Agent at Leh, took various steps to discourage the import of wool and pashmina into Kashmir.⁴²

The Maharaja was asked to provide full details of import and export trade with Central Asia. At the same time, the British decided that all exports and imports to and from Central Asia would be checked, examined and weighed by the British Trade Agent. Thus, the British completely controlled all trade with Central Asia.⁴³ These measures brought about a loss of Rs fifteen lakhs to the Maharaja who made several representations about it to the Governor-General.⁴⁴

In 1870, an agreement was arrived at between the Maharaja and the British by which it was decided that all merchandise going to Central Asia would be examined and sealed by the British Trade Commissioners at Calcutta, Bombay, Amritsar and Leh. Later on other British Joint Commissioners were appointed on the Asian Treaty Road from Leh to Kashgar. They were provided with judicial powers.⁴⁵

The British gave much importance to trade with Central Asia. Noting a considerable increase in this trade during 1894-95, the Resident remarked that the increase was both important and satisfactory. The road from Srinagar to Leh was further improved by construction of *serais* and shelter huts.⁴⁶ The trade with Central Asia went on developing year by year and in 1897 it rose to Rs 42,02,600 in value.⁴⁷

As seen earlier, fear of Russia prompted the British to attach much importance to Kashmir and its surrounding areas. This fear continued with the rise of the Socialistic regime in Russia after November 1917. In fact, their worries increased because the 'New Russia' aspired for a world revolution. Lenin spoke of the British as 'rapacious extortioners and plunderers' and incited Indians to rebellion.⁴⁸ Lenin also made a special appeal to the Muslims of India calling on them to overthrow the British.⁴⁹ At the same time, Afghanistan asserted its indepen-

dence of British supremacy and apprised Lenin, expressing pleasure at the success of the Revolution.⁵⁰ Russia had consolidated its position in Central Asia. The British had to be vigilant because Russia had also organised its position on the north-western frontiers of India.⁵¹ They felt that the vigilance in Kashmir could not be relaxed, more so when the Kashmiri Muslims had started demanding their rights. They asked for educational facilities and the Government had reluctantly invited the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India to make his recommendations on the subject.⁵² The agriculturists were demanding proprietary rights in all lands from the Maharaja, who contended that he was the owner of all lands in Kashmir because Gulab Singh had purchased the valley from the British.⁵³ Under such circumstances, they had to remain more vigilant and did not allow any breeding of political ideas in Kashmir. Accordingly, the British carried on many surveys in Kashmir, Ladakh and Gilgit in order to strengthen their position.

The British surveyors had begun the work of demarcation of the boundaries of the territories of the Maharaja in 1847. Some maps had been prepared and submitted to the Governor-General.⁵⁴ But a more detailed survey was carried out in the year 1866 under the supervision of Surveyor-General of India. It was a detailed survey conducted by very experienced surveyors⁵⁵ like Lumsden, Cunningham, Johnson, Foy, Drew and Lawrence. The work of demarcating the boundaries between the territories of the British and the Maharaja was entrusted to G. Foy, who worked under the supervision of Johnson.⁵⁶ The Maharaja requested for the services of various British surveyors.⁵⁷

In the year 1856, the British geologists went to Ladakh for survey and exploration. The Maharaja was requested to afford all facilities to this team for its work.⁵⁸ The British geologists explored Kashmir, Ladakh, Baltistan, in order to locate and develop mineral deposits. Gold, copper, lead, zinc and graphite deposits were located. The main purpose, however, of the various survey parties to Ladakh, Gilgit and other parts of Kashmir was mainly to collect information of what was happening

across the borders. The British wanted to learn more and more about Russia, China and Central Asia. The Maharaja was asked to send its men to Badakshan, Kohstan and Kashgar and provide necessary details. This work of spying was started in 1861 under the supervision of Montgomery. 'F' was the secret agent who was deputed to Yarkand with other Kashmiri informers.⁵⁹ Johnson conducted his survey of the Karakoram range in 1864 and prepared detailed maps for the British Government.⁶⁰ He also went to Khotan and reached Srinagar back in 1865. The Maharaja asked his Dewan, to make presents to him in return for the gain of territories in the demarcation of frontiers.⁶¹ The British desired reliable information about the position of Russia and Central Asia, data about their military strength, forts, and ammunition and its relations with the Amirs of Kohkand and Bukhara. This was done in 1865.⁶² The Maharaja appointed nine spies to work for him and provide data and information about the Russians. They were posted at Leh, Yarkand and Khotan. Subsequently their number was increased and some of them were posted at Badakshan, Kokan, Shigar and even "in the houses of the Russians". The information thus collected was passed on to the Viceroy.⁶³ Some of the spies got medals and *khilats* for their work.⁶⁴ Fredric Drew, who worked as Commissioner of Ladakh for many years, controlled espionage in Central Asia from Leh. He used to collect information for the Maharaja as well as for the British. His reports provided information about the happenings in China, Russia and Central Asian Sultanates.⁶⁵ In 1889, Younghusband was deputed to Kirghiz by the British, who informed the Maharaja that he has "been deputed by the Government of India to visit the Kirghiz and learn about the present situation of affairs".⁶⁶ In 1890, the British decided to restrict the entry of Europeans into Ladakh. Accordingly, a European traveller named Haber Hover was prohibited from proceeding towards Leh.⁶⁷ In order to seal the borders of Ladakh, its boundaries were fixed up in 1892.⁶⁸ In 1909, the British Joint Commissioner at Leh was authorised to be in political charge of the whole Baltistan.⁶⁹ In 1904, the whole traffic to Central Asia via Ladakh and Kulu passed into the control of the Residency in Kashmir and the Resident was authorised to issue visas

for travel via Ladakh to Central Asian countries.⁷⁰ In 1906, the famous Swedish explorer, Sven Hedin, reached Srinagar, in order to make his remarkable journey into Central Asia. Lord Curzon promised to render him all assistance in these travels, but could not guarantee anything about the attitude of the Tibetan Government.⁷¹ He was not permitted to enter Tibet by orders from London. Accordingly, he went to Leh and then left for Tibet. He had earlier visited Leh in 1901 for a tour of Central Asia.⁷² In the year 1910, two Russians, namely, Captain Polovotsoff and Prince Trobetskoy entered Ladakh from Central Asia. It was ordered that they be pushed back.⁷³ The British Residency in Kashmir had formulated rules for the guidance of visitors to Kashmir in 1887.⁷⁴ Similar rules had been in vogue for visitors going to Leh.⁷⁵ The Maharaja restricted the entry of visitors to Tibet via Ladakh in 1906.⁷⁶ Registration of visitors to Kashmir was introduced in 1916,⁷⁷ and such lists were to be sent to the Kashmir Residency.⁷⁸ The pass system for European visitors to Kashmir was abolished in 1919.⁷⁹ But the British Residency ordered that strictness be observed in the grant of passports for going to Persia,⁸⁰ the Turkish Empire⁸¹ and in the case of Sikhs going to China or America.⁸²

The British not only improved transport but other means of communications also. Telegraph lines were laid down between Rawalpindi and Srinagar. The line was extended from Srinagar to Dras in 1882 and from Srinagar to Gilgit in 1883.⁸³ Side by side the postal system was improved in the territories of the Maharaja. The Government of India had decided that the princes would be held responsible for losses to the Imperial mail in their territories.⁸⁴ The British completed arrangements for speedy postal service in Kashmir via Banihal and Murree.⁸⁵ Postal arrangements were completed by the end of 1866⁸⁶ and the building of the Kohala Bridge in 1870 saw the inception of postal mail service between Srinagar and Rawalpindi. The State Postal Department was taken over by the British in 1894.⁸⁷ In the year 1896, the Government of India finally and completely took over, as part of the Imperial system, the Kashmir Telegraph Department of the Government of India.⁸⁸ A sum of Rs 57,347 was paid to the British, on account of the State's contribution

towards construction of telegraph lines from Srinagar to Gilgit and Srinagar to Kohala.⁸⁹ The British took various measures to develop the economic resources of the State. A survey of coal deposits were conducted by Col. De Bourbel in 1887.⁹⁰ Similar surveys were conducted in the Chinab valley,⁹¹ Udhampur⁹² and Gulmarg.⁹³

Syndicates and companies were formed to promote the development of the economic resources of the State.⁹⁴ Agreements were entered with the General Electric Company, for supply of electric installations.⁹⁵ Similarly, concessions were given to the Kashmir Mineral Company in connection with gold washing in Ladakh.⁹⁶ The Kashmir Iron Mines and Power Syndicate got similar concessions for mining operations in Riasi.⁹⁷ The mineral survey of the valley was completed by Middlemiss in 1914.⁹⁸ The Mineral Survey Department was established in the year 1920.⁹⁹

The impact of the British policy on the organisation and use of the Maharaja's army was most significant. The basic policy of the British was to bring the forces in every native State under its control and utilise them for furtherance of the Imperial interests. The Kashmir forces were utilised in Chitral, North West Frontier Province and the Afghan expeditions. During the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh, the British Resident was all powerful, nay the de facto sovereign. In 1888, the State army was brought under the control of the British military Advisers and Col. Neville Chamberlain was posted as Military Secretary of the Kashmir State.¹⁰⁰ During the same year, the Kashmir Imperial Service Troops were organised by the British.¹⁰¹ Besides this, the State forces were also reorganised by the British.¹⁰² As the pay and allowances of soldiers were meagre, there used to happen many desertations. In order to better their conditions, more facilities were provided to the State forces. Medals were instituted for bravery.¹⁰³ The major portion of the Kashmir forces consisted of the Dogras,¹⁰⁴ since Kashmiris were not recruited by the Maharaja. The Kashmir forces were utilised for the invasion of Chitral in 1895 and medals, pensions and other honours were received by them.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, the soldiers of the State were utilised in various expeditions in the tribal territories of the frontier.¹⁰⁶ In order to bring the

State forces under the complete control of the British, an agreement was made between the Maharaja and the Resident, by which the former agreed that "whenever the Imperial Services troops are engaged in the defence of the British Empire, they will be subject to the control of the officers and soldiers of His Majesty's Indian Army".¹⁰⁷ The whole military administration in Gilgit and other tribal areas of Kashmir was taken over by the British in 1900.¹⁰⁸ Complete reorganisation was effected by the British in 1907. Local levies known as 'scouts' were organised by the British to watch enemy movements across the frontier at Kilik and Darkot passes.¹⁰⁹ The Government of India advised the State Administration to take precautions about anarchist activities in Kashmir.¹¹⁰

As the shadows of the Great War of 1914 were approaching nearer, the British Recruiting Officers toured the territories of the Maharaja.¹¹¹ The whole of the Kashmir army was mobilised for active service in the Great War and they fought against the Germans in East Africa. The total number of recruits supplied from the State for the war came to nearly sixteen thousand.¹¹² The extra strength of the Kashmir Army was reduced after the termination of the war.¹¹³ The posts of Military Advisers in the State were abolished in 1922 with the appointment of R. D. Alexander as Chief of the Military Staff, Kashmir forces.¹¹⁴

The British started the reorganisation of civil administration in 1895 and reorganised all departments by 1903.¹¹⁵ The Resident put British officers in charge of important departments and most of them worked very hard. One of them was Walter, R. Lawrence who carried land settlement and revenue assessment in the valley. He started this work in 1889 and completed it in 1893. In Kashmir, land was regarded as the absolute property of the Maharaja and every year allotments were made to the cultivators. In 1859, the country was parcelled out among *Kardars*, who were land agents of the Maharaja, with powers to collect the maximum amount of grains for him. He was assisted by a *Shakdar*, who kept watch and ward of the crops. Then there used to be a *szawal* who was the inspecting agency for many villages. When harvest time came, the

platoons of soldiers, known as 'Nizamat Palton', were sent to each and every village to extort more and more produce from the cultivators.¹¹⁶ Of almost everything produced by the soil, the Maharaja took a large proportion, and his numerous agents and officers took the rest. Out of every thirty-two *traks*, the Government took twenty *traks* as its share and *Kardars* and other officials took nearly two *traks* and the cultivator was left with ten *traks* for subsistence for the year.¹¹⁷ It clearly meant that the Maharaja took two-thirds of the produce. In 1880, an assessment supposed to be on holdings, but really an assessment on villages, was made. But in 1882 the device of auctioning villages was adopted, but it failed because the system was not realistic.¹¹⁸

The settlement of the Kashmir Valley was commenced by Mr Whigate in 1887, but he could not accomplish anything due to the opposition of the officials and middlemen. Col. Lawrence took up the work in 1889.¹¹⁹ For the first time permanent hereditary occupancy rights were bestowed on those who agreed to pay the assessment fixed and entered in his or her name.¹²⁰ But this right of occupancy was not alienable either by sale or mortgage. This meant that a cultivator was not the owner or the proprietor of his field. This was the first time in the history of Kashmir that people lost proprietorship of their own lands.¹²¹

The new assessment provided payment of land revenue partly in cash and partly in kind. Further *begar* or forced labour and many official or unofficial exactions known as *rasoom* were abolished. At that time, fruit trees, brick bark, violets, hides, silk, saffron, hemp, tavacoo, waternuts and paper were treated as State monopolies and farmed out to the pandits. The right to legalise marriages was farmed out and the office of the grave digger was taxed. Prostitutes were taxed, and everything save air and water was brought under taxation.¹²² The new settlement brought an end to all this inhuman taxation. The settlement operations were conducted in Baltistan and Ladakh during 1901 and 1904.¹²³ Lawrence also wrote against *begar* or forced labour and submitted a note to the Maharaja recommending its abolition.¹²⁴ The Resident

recommended that it should be abolished because it entailed hardships on the masses.¹²⁵ *Begar* had been abolished officially by the State Council in 1891.¹²⁶ But it continued and the Press wrote against it even in 1920.¹²⁷ Under the able guidance of the Resident, progress was achieved in all directions. A meteorological observatory was installed at Srinagar in 1890 and rain gauges were put up in all principal stations in the State.¹²⁸ Within a span of five years, meteorological observatories and rain gauge stations were established at Jammu, Ramban, Kishtwar, Poonch, Domel, Skardu, Gilgit, Leh, Kargil, Dras, Anantnag and Banihal.¹²⁹

The State mint was closed in 1895 and the British currency was introduced in its place.¹³⁰ The existing penal code and the code of civil procedure were revised and administration of justice was given a modern shape.¹³¹ It was in the field of education that the British left an important impact. They established the first English school in the State which followed the University syllabus.¹³² The same pattern was copied by the schools which were established by the State under the directions of the Resident. English was introduced in the State schools in 1886. But the growth of education was very slow. "Out of a population of 52,576 Hindus only 1,327 are receiving State instructions, while out of a population of 757,433 Muhamadans, only 233 obtain any benefit from the State schools. These figures also show that though the Hindus form less than seven per cent of the population, they benefited more from the education bestowed by the State."¹³³ This was the state of affairs in 1891, and accordingly the scheme of studies prescribed for schools was improved and village schools were established.¹³⁴ Still conditions were far from satisfactory. "Not only the Rulers of Jammu and Kashmir ruined their poor subjects with the burden of heavy taxes and inefficient officers, they did not care a fig for their education. The wealth which is accumulated by sucking their blood is spent on furnishing the royal palaces, in pursuit of song and luxury and for the serving of the English; and nothing is spent out of it, for education of the subjects".¹³⁵ Urdu, instead of Persian, was introduced as the court language in 1907.¹³⁶

As the Muslims had become conscious and agitative, the Maharaja invited a representative gathering at Srinagar in 1910 and advised them to maintain communal harmony. He told them to maintain peace.¹³⁷

The Muslims had remained backward in education, trade and in everything and in the enchanting scenery of the valley life had become a hell for its residents. "The enchanting scenery of Kashmir, green fields and valleys, its forests and rivers, are such bounties of nature, which have not been bestowed in any other country. But this heaven has become a hell for its residents. Devoid of education and freedom, they cannot take advantage of natural blessings. The land which appears to be a heaven for outsiders is nothing less than a hell for its residents. Out of the total population of thirty-one lakhs, the Muslims are twenty-four lakhs but as regards education even 100 persons cannot be found out of them. The State exists on the shoulders of those twenty-four lakh Muslims and their hard earned money fulfills the State treasury, but their share in administration is nil."¹³⁸

A deputation led by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad waited upon Pratap Singh in 1913 to plead the cause of the Kashmiri Muslims. Their demands became irresistible and the Maharaja was moved at last to do something in this direction. An All India Mohammadan Educational Conference presented a memorandum to Pratap Singh regarding provision of Educational facilities to the Muslims in the State.¹³⁹

In 1916, Mr Sharp, the then Educational Commissioner of the Government of India, was brought to Kashmir to study the problems of education in the valley. He submitted a report containing his recommendations.¹⁴⁰ But no one cared for the report because the Maharaja was not interested in educating his subjects, but to keep them illiterate. He was not even ready to hear them and refused to meet their deputations.¹⁴¹ The first seeds of unrest had been sown and his successor had to reap its harvest. The Resident took special precautions not to allow political suspects into the valley. The Maharaja followed suit. As far back as 1893, the Residency desired to keep strict watch on Shaikh Kamal-Ibni-Shaikh Hussain and his men, "whose

mission was to inculcate Pan-Islamism".¹⁴² Information was sought by the Residency of the State subjects who had participated in the 14th and 15th sessions of the Indian National Congress.¹⁴³ The Khalsa Youngmen's Association also demanded facilities for education of the Sikhs.¹⁴⁴ The All India Mohamadan Educational Conference, Aligarh passed a resolution deploring the backwardness of Muslim education in the State and demanded educational facilities.¹⁴⁵

Similarly, the Residency took measures to stop the entry of "Bolshevic literature and ideas in Kashmir". A strict watch was ordered to be kept on the Communists in 1919.¹⁴⁶ Despite all these precautions, political ideas continued to infiltrate into the valley. The Maharaja imposed a complete ban on the formation of associations and societies and even religious bodies were not allowed to function.¹⁴⁷ The Resident gave all directions to seal the State so that nobody could get politically influenced. A close watch was kept on all visitors and Amar Singh directed that "germs of mischievous political ideas should be immediately nipped in the bud".¹⁴⁸ In 1921, Basheshwar Pathak, a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, came to Kashmir and delivered a few speeches at Baramulla.¹⁴⁹

The British took every measure to contain the wave of political unrest in British India as well as the native States and the placing of such restrictions on Press and platform suited their interests as well as the interests of the Maharaja. The publication of newspapers without the permission of the Maharaja was banned in 1906.¹⁵⁰ The Maharaja prohibited the entry of political literature into the State and proscribed the pamphlets: 'The First Step towards Independence' and 'The present condition of Indian Nationalism'.¹⁵¹

Similarly, various political books and booklets were proscribed during the period 1906-14.¹⁵² A similar ban was imposed on newspapers.¹⁵³ Vide Ordinance No. 1 of 1914, the State Government secured the control of the Press during the Great War.¹⁵⁴ Russian currency in the possession of certain traders in Kashmir was confiscated.¹⁵⁵

But the urge for freedom manifested itself in one form or the other. The Press in India wrote about Kashmir and its adminis-

tration. It was complained that, "there is want of grip in the administration, absence of touch with the people and the negation of love and attachment on their part to the Government."¹⁵⁶ The plight of the people having gone from bad to worse, prayers were made that "His Majesty, by his royal grace, may be pleased to extend to the people of Kashmir, the new light of equality and self-determination".¹⁵⁷ Ultimately, the Muslims of Kashmir submitted their memorandum of grievances to Lord Reading, Viceroy of India in 1924 and also rose against Maharaja Hari Singh in 1931. Naturally the British, alarmed by possible repercussions in British India, could neither tolerate nor sympathise with the Kashmiri uprising.

We have seen that the fear of Russian invasion always haunted the British in India and they shaped their policies accordingly. But after the establishment of a Socialistic regime in Russia, a fear psychosis engulfed them and they feared that "with the slightest change in the situation the imperialist pirates will again move against us".¹⁵⁸ The net result was that both the British and the Russians feared each other and shaped their policies accordingly. Such a situation had its repercussions in Kashmir also, where the British acquired Gilgit from the Maharaja and established their political and military base there. The impact of the British policy as given in the preceding pages is to be seen under this perspective.

Footnotes

1. Joseph Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, p. 279.
2. File No. 6 of 1905 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
3. Chattar Singh Samra, *India and Anglo-Soviet Relations (1917-1943)*, p. 20.
4. William Digby, *Condemned Unheard*, p. 103.
5. Sven Hedin, *Trans-Himalayas*, Vol. III. p. 125.
6. E. Stock, *History of the C.M. Society*, Vol. II, p. 202.
7. Ibid.
8. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir and Sunlight in Shade*, p. 165.

9. Ibid.
10. File No. 574 of 1864 (P.R.) K.G.R.
11. File No. 1254 of 1941. Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
12. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, pp. 79-80.
13. File No. 286 of 1864 (P.R.) K.G.R.
14. File No. 290 (P.R.) K.G. Letter from Secy. to Punjab Govt. to Maharaja, October 27, 1878.
15. File No. 349 H. (P.R.) K.G.R.
16. File No. 368 of 1924 Samvat. (P.R.) K.G.R.
17. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 240. Dr Elmslie was a Scot who came to Kashmir in 1864 and died in 1872. He built the hospital at Drugjan.
18. 'Jammu and Kashmir Administrative Report 1890-91. p. 30. Also File No. 1 of 1889, No. 105 of 1895 and 28/M-27 of 1908 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
19. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 237.
Robert Throp was born in 1838. His mother was a Kashmiri lady from a royal family. His grave in the Christian Cemetery, Srinagar carries the following epitaph :
He died for Kashmir.
Was published in 1870 by Longman Green and Co., London.
20. File No. 51/1-12 of 1906. (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
File No. 30 Bloc C of 1906
21. File No. 48 and 32 of 1891 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
22. File No. 2 of 1906 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
23. File No. 269/B-157 of 1907 (O.E.R.)
24. File No. 254/P-127 of 1912 (O.E.R.)
25. File No. 99/N-102 of 1907 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
26. Chattar Singh Samra, *India and Anglo-Soviet Relations*, p. 13.
27. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*. p. 30.
28. 'Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1890-91', p. 129.
29. Ibid. p. 128.
30. File No. 647 of 1933 Samvat. (P.R.) K.G.R.
31. Ibid.
32. File No. 12 of 1899, No. 15 of 1901 and No. 134 of 1903 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.
33. Ibid.
34. File No. 76/113 of 1946 Samvat. (V.R.) K.G.R. Also Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 30.
35. File No. 1 of 1884 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
36. File No. 356/4 of 1947 Samvat. (V.R.) K.G.R.
37. File No. 262 of 1863 (P.R.) K.G.R.
38. File No. 303 of 1864 (P.R.) K.G.R.
39. File No. 303 of 1864 (P.R.) K.G.R.
40. File No. 320 (P.R.) K.G.R.
41. File No. 356 of 1923 Samvat. (P.R.) K.G.R.

42. File No. 325 of 1867 (P.R.) K.G.R.
43. File No. 215 (P.R.) K.G.R.
44. Ibid., p. 15.
45. File No. 433 of 1870 (P.R.) K.G.R.
46. 'Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report, 1894-95', p. 159.
47. 'Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report' 1897-98' p. 162.
48. As quoted in Chattar Singh Samra, *India and Anglo-Soviet Relations*, p. 22.
49. Ibid. p. 22.
50. As quoted in Chattar Singh Samra, *India and Anglo-Soviet Relation*, p. 22
51. File No. 115/E-56 of 1918 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
52. File No. 124/F-184 of 1915 (O.E.R.) K.G.R. Also P.N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*. p. 83.
53. Pratap Singh to his Chief Minister in a letter dated Dec. 14, 1918. File No. 191/H. 75 K.G.R. "The proprietary rights in all the lands of Kashmir belong to the Ruling Chief exclusively, for the simple reason that the territories of Kashmir were purchased by my late lamented grandfather, Maharaja Gulab Singh."
54. File No. 436 (P.R.) K.G.R.
55. Earl Robert of Kandahar, *Forty-one Years in India*, p. 25.
56. File No. 27 of 1864 (P.R.) K.G.R.
57. File No. 69 (P.R.) K.G.R.
58. File No. 93. p. 68 (P.R.) K.G.R.
59. File No. 239, p. 5 (P.R.) K.G.R.
60. File No. 163 (P.R.) K.G.R.
61. File No. 306-Cp., 41 (P.R.) K.G.R.
62. File No. 304 (P.R.) K.G.R.
63. File No. 313-C.
File No. 313-D of 1866 (P.R.)
64. File No. 446 of 1870/P.R. (K.G.R.)
65. File No. 512 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
66. File No. 18 of 1889 (P.D.R.)
67. File No. 22 of 1890 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
68. File No. 82 of 1892 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
69. File No. 79-H-46 of 1900 (O.E.R.)
70. File No. 92, p. 61 of 1904 (P.D.R.) K.G.R.
71. Sven Hedin, *Trans-Himalayas*, p. 4.
72. File No. 10. A-11 of 1901 (O.E.R.)
73. File No. 167/N-15 of 1910 (O.E.R.)
74. File No. 24 of 1887 (O.E.R.)
75. File No. 63 of 1893 (O.E.R.)
76. File No. 109/F.R-6 of 1906.
77. File No. 23/A-86 of 1916 (O.E.R.)
78. File No. 135/K-26 of 1916 (O.E.R.)

79. File No. 308/R-54 of 1919 (O.E.R.)
80. File No. 38/E-7 of 1900 (O.E.R.)
81. File No. 77/E-10 F. of 1912 (O.E.R.)
82. File No. 156/2-C of 1921 (O.E.R.)
83. The Administration Report of 1890-91'. Appendix VIII gives the following telegraph lines :
 1. Jammu to Srinagar 2. Jammu to Suchetgarh
 3. Srinagar to Gulmarg 4. Srinagar to Skardu
 5. Hadora to Gilgit 6. Srinagar to Domel.
84. File No. 111 of 1854 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
85. Ibid.
86. File No. 356 of 1923. Samvat.
87. File No. 859/69 of 1951 (V.R.) K.G.R. (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
88. 'Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1896-97', p. 34.
89. Ibid.
90. File No. 23 of 1887 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
91. File No. 8-H-88 of 1901 (O.E.R.)
92. File No. 103/F-58 of 1901 (O.E.R.)
93. File No. 137/PH-64 of 1903 (O.E.R.)
94. File No. 72/S-14 of 1906 (O.E.R.)
95. File No. 128/B-14 of 1906.
96. File No. 223/H-159 of 1907.
97. File No. 105/H-59 of 1907 (O.E.R.)
98. S.S. Middlemis 'Report of the Mineral Survey', (148/H-76 of 1914. (O.E.R.)
99. File No. 349 of 1920 (O.E.R.)
100. Earl Robert of Kandahar, *Forty-one Years in India*, p. 527.
101. File No. 4/15 of 1888 (A.R.) K.G.R.
102. File No. 2 of 1893 (A.R.) K.G.R.
103. File No. 14 of 1893 (A.R.) K.G.R.
104. File No. 85 of 1894 (A.R.) K.G.R.
105. *London Gazette*. Extraordinary Notification, dated July 16, 1896.
106. File No. 426 of 1897. Cinc (A.R.) K.G.R.
107. Agreement between Pratap Singh and Talbot, dated September 12, 1899.
108. Gilgit Political Agency Circular No. 783, dated December 19, 1897.
109. File No. 127/F.A. 3 of 1907 (O.E.R.)
110. File No. 246/N of 1910 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
111. File No. 28 M of 1912 (A.R.) K.G.R.

112. File No. 51-M/77 of 1920 (A.R.) K.G.R.
113. File No. 97 of 1919. (Per C-in-C) (A.R.) K.G.R.
114. File No. 121/F-33 of 1903 (O.E.R.).
115. File No. 66-M of 1922 (A.R.) K.G.R.
116. Walter R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 402-03.
117. Robert Throp, *Cashmere Misgovernment* (typed manuscript), p. 6, K.G.A.
118. W.R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 405.
119. File No. 45 of 1889 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
120. Ibid., p. 429.
121. P.N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, p. 72.
122. W.R. Lawrence, *India We Served*, p. 134.
123. 'Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1904', p. 226.
124. File No. 12/P-13 of 1892 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
125. File No. 213/P-106 of 1913 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
126. File No. 34 of 1891 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
127. File No. 72/C-57 of 1920, Articles on *Begar* in *Bande Matram*, Lahore.
128. 'Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1890-91', p. 32.
129. 'Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1895-96', p. 101.
130. File No. 55 of 1896 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
131. 'Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1890-91', p. 69.
132. File No. 99/P-55 of 1901 (O.E.R.)
133. W.R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 299.
134. 'Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1890-91', p. 99.
135. *Punjab Gazette*, Sialkot, October 26, 1889. (File No. 1065) H.H.P.R. K.G.R.
136. File No. 27/Z-6 of 1967 (O.E.R.)
137. File No. 144/P-91 (Part II) of 1910 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
138. Statement of Shaikh Atta Mohammad, Advocate, in *Siyasat*, Lahore. November 7, 8, 1923.
139. File No. 217/P-96 of 1913 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
140. P.N. Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, p. 83; also File No. 124/F-184 of 1915 (O.E.R.)
141. File No. 2/Mis-14 of 1920 K.G.R.
142. File No. 64 of 1893 (P.D.R) K.G.R.
143. File No. 122 of 1899 (O.E.R.)
144. File No. 216/P-92 of 1918 (O.E.R.)
145. File No. 77/P-21 of 1917 (O.E.R.)
146. File No. 23/31-C of 1919 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.

147. File No. 66/102-C of 1921 (P.D.R.) K.G.R.
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APPENDIX I

FIRST TREATY WITH LAHORE (1846)

Treaty between the British Government and the State of Lahore, concluded at Lahore on March 9th, 1846.

Whereas the treaty of amity and concord, which was concluded between the British Government and the Late Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahore, in 1809, was broken by the unprovoked aggression on the British provinces of the Sikh army, in December last : And whereas, on that occasion, by the proclamation dated the 13th of December, the territories then in the occupation of the Maharaja of Lahore, on the left or British bank of the river Sutlej, were confiscated and annexed to the British provinces; and, since that time, hostile operations have been prosecuted by the two Governments, the one against the other, which have resulted in the occupation of Lahore by the British troops: And whereas it has been determined that, upon certain conditions, peace shall be re-established between the Honourable English East India Company, and Maharaja Dalip Singh Bahadur, and his children, heirs, and successors, has been concluded, on the part of the Honourable Company, by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in them by the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies; and, on the part of His Highness the Maharaja Dalip Singh, by Bhai Ram Singh, Raja Lal Singh, Sardar Tej Singh, Sardar Chattar Singh Atariwala, Sardar Ranjor Singh Majithia, Diwan Dina Nath. and Fakir-ud-Din, vested with full powers and authority on the part of His Highness.

Article 1—There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government, on the one part, and Maharaja Dalip Singh, his heirs and successors, on the other.

Article 2—The Maharaja of Lahore renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, all claim to, or connexion with, the territories lying to the south of the river Sutlej, and engages never to have any concern with those territories, or the inhabitants thereof.

Article 3—The Maharaja cedes to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories, and rights, in the Doab, or country, hill and plain, situated between the rivers Beas and Sutlej.

Article 4—The British Government having demanded from the Lahore State, as indemnification for the expenses of the war, in addition to the cession of territory described in Article 3, payment of one and a half crores of rupees, and the Lahore Government being unable to pay the whole of this sum at this time, or to give security satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment; the Maharaja cedes to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of rupees, all his forts, territories, rights, and interests, in the hill countries which are situated between the rivers Beas and Indus, including the provinces Kashmir and Hazara.

Article 5—The Maharaja will pay to the British Government the sum of fifty lacs of rupees, on or before the ratification of this treaty.

Article 6—The Maharaja engages to disband the mutinous troops of the Lahore army, taking from them their arms; and His Highness agrees to reorganize the regular, or Ain, regiments of infantry, upon the system, and according to the regulations as to pay and allowances, observed in time of the Late Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Maharaja further engages to pay up all arrears to the soldiers that are discharged under the provisions of this article.

Article 7—The regular army of the Lahore State shall henceforth be limited to 25 battalions of infantry, consisting of 800 bayonets each, with 12,000 cavalry : this number at no time to

be exceeded without the concurrence of the British Government. Should it be necessary at any time, for any special cause, that this force should be increased, the cause shall be fully explained to the British Government; and, when the special necessity shall have passed, the regular troops shall be again reduced to the standard specified in the former clause of this article.

Article 8—The Maharaja will surrender to the British Government all the guns, thirty-six in number, which have been pointed against the British troops, and which, having been placed on the right bank of the river Sutlej, were not captured at the battle of Sobraon.

Article 9—The control of the rivers Beas and Sutlej, with the continuations of the latter river, commonly called the Ghara and Panjnad, to the confluence of the Indus at Mithankot, and the control of the Indus from Mithankot to the borders of Baluchistan, shall, in respect to tolls and ferries, rest with the British Government. The provisions of this article shall not interfere with the passage of boats belonging to the Lahore Government on the said rivers, for the purposes of traffic, or the conveyance of passengers up and down their course. Regarding the ferries between the two countries respectively, at the several *ghats* of the said rivers, it is agreed that the British Government, after defraying all the expenses of management and establishments, shall account to the Lahore Government for one-half of the net profits of the ferry collections. The provisions of this article have no reference to the ferries on that part of the river Sutlej which forms the boundary of Bahawalpur and Lahore, respectively.

Article 10—If the British Government should, at any time, desire to pass troops through the territories of His Highness the Maharaja for the protection of the British Territories, or those of their allies, the British troops shall on such special occasions, due notice being given, be allowed to pass through the Lahore territories. In such a case, the officers of the Lahore State will afford facilities in providing supplies and boats for the passage of rivers; and the British Government will pay the full price of all such provisions and boats, and will make fair compensation for all private property that may be endamaged. The

British Government will moreover observe all due consideration to the religious feelings of the inhabitants of those tracts through which the army may pass.

Article 11—The Maharaja engages never to take or retain, in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 12—In consideration of the services rendered by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu to the Lahore State, towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Governments, the Maharaja hereby agrees to recognize the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh, in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja Gulab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government, with the dependencies thereof, which may have been in the Raja's possession since the time of the late Maharaja Kharak Singh and the British Government, in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Gulab Singh, also agrees to recognize his independence in such territories, and to admit him to the privileges of a separate treaty with the British Government.

Article 13—In the event of any dispute or difference arising between the Lahore State and Raja Gulab Singh, the same shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government; and by its decision the Maharaja engages to abide.

Article 14—The limits of the Lahore territories shall not be, at any time, changed, without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 15—The British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State; but in all cases or questions which may be referred to the British Government, the Governor-General will give the aid of his advice and good offices for the furtherance of the interests of the Lahore Government.

Article 16—The subjects of either State shall, on visiting the territories of the other, be on the footing of the subjects of the most favoured nation.

This treaty consisting of sixteen articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government; and by Bhai Ram Singh, Raja Lal Singh, Sardar Tej Singh, Sardar Chattar Singh Atariwala, Sardar Ranjor Singh Majithia, Diwan Dina Nath, and Fakir Nur-ud-Din, on the part of the Maharaja Dalip Singh; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, and by that of His Highness Maharaja Dalip Singh.

Done at Lahore, this 19th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 10th day of Rabi-ul-awal 1262, Hijri and ratified on the same day.

APPENDIX II

THE TREATY OF AMRITSAR

TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT on the one part and MAHARAJA GULAB SINGH OF JAMMU on the other, concluded on the part of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT by FREDERICK CURRIE, Esquire and BREVET-MAJOR HENRY MONTGOMERY LAWRENCE, acting under the orders of the RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR HENRY HARDINGE, G.C.B., one of HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, appointed by the HONOURABLE COMPANY to direct and control all their affairs in the EAST-INDIES, and by MAHARAJA GULAB SINGH in person,—1846.

Article 1—The British Government transfers and makes over for ever, in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba, and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV, of the Treaty of Lahore dated 9th March 1846.

Article 2—The Eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by the Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh, respectively, for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate Engagement after survey.

Article 3—In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, Maharaja

Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of Rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 4—The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5—Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or question that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V, VI. and VII of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar, dated March 11th, 1846.

Article 9—The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10—Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

This Treaty, of ten articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right

Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person; and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Amritsar, the sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, corresponding with the seventeenth day of Rubbee-ool-awal 1262 Hijree.

Sd/- H. Hardinge (Seal)

Sd/- F. Currie

Sd/- H.M. Lawrence

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India.

Sd/- E. Currie

Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General

APPENDIX III

The Hon'ble the East India Company having received from H.H. Maharaja Gulab Singh the sum of Rs 7500,000, seventy five lakhs, in payment of the amount guaranteed by the III article of the Treaty between the Hon'ble Company and His Highness dated Amritsar the 16th March 1846, this single acknowledgement of the receipt of the above whole amount... ..is granted by the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab, at the request of Dewan Jowala Shai, in addition to the receipts already given to His Highness' agents, by the receiving officers, for the instalments... received..... by them, from time to time, between the date of the Treaty and the 14th March 1850 the day on which the last instalment was paid into the Lahore Treasury.

Lahore.

30th March 1850

Sd/- H.L.

(Rough draft of the receipt regarding the payments received by the East India Company.)

APPENDIX IV

THE COMMERCIAL TREATY (1870)

TREATY between the **BRITISH GOVERNMENT** and **HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA RUNBEER SINGH**, his heirs and successors, executed on the one part by **THOMAS DOUGLAS FORSYTH, E.B.**, in virtue of the full powers vested in him by **HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE RICHARD SOUTHWELL BOURKEY, EARL OF MAYO, BARON NAAS OF NAAS, K.P., G.M.S.I., P.C. etc., etc., VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA**, and on the other part by **HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA RUNBEER SINGH** aforesaid, in person,—1870.

Whereas in the interest of the high contracting parties and their respective subjects, it is deemed desirable to afford greater facilities than at present exist for the development and security of trade with Eastern Turkistan, the following Articles have, with this object, been agreed upon :

Article 1—With the consent of the Maharaja, Officers of the British Government will be appointed to survey the trade routes through the Maharaja's territories from the British frontier of Lahoul to the territories of the Ruler of Yarkand, including the route via the Chang Chemo Valley. The Maharaja will depute an officer of his Government to accompany the Surveyors, and will render them all the assistance in his power. A map of the routes surveyed will be made, an attested copy of which will be given to the Maharaja.

Article 2—Whichever route towards the Chang Chemo Valley shall, after examination and survey as above, be declared by the British Government to be the best suited for the development of trade with Eastern Turkistan, shall be declared by the

Maharaja to be a free highway in perpetuity and at all times for all travellers and traders.

Article 3—For the supervision and maintenance of the road in its entire length through the Maharaja's territories the regulation of traffic on the free highway described in Article 2, the enforcement of regulations that may be hereafter agreed upon, and the settlement of disputes between carriers, traders, travellers, or others using that road, in which either of the parties or both of them are subjects of the British Government or of any foreign State, two Commissioners shall be annually appointed, one by the British Government, and the other by the Maharaja. In the discharge of their duties and as regards the period of their residence the Commissioners shall be guided by such rules as are now separately framed and may, from time to time, hereafter be laid down by the joint authority of the British Government and the Maharaja.

Article 4—The jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall be defined by a line on each side of the road at a maximum width of two statute *koss*, except where it may be deemed by the Commissioners necessary to include a wider extent for grazing grounds. Within this maximum width the Surveyors appointed under Article I shall demarcate and map the limits of jurisdiction which may be decided on by the Commissioners as most suitable, including grazing grounds; and the jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall not extend beyond the limits so demarcated. The land included within these limits shall remain in the Maharaja's independent possession; and, subject to the stipulations contained in this Treaty, the Maharaja shall continue to possess the same right of full sovereignty therein as in any other part of his territories, which right shall not be interfered with in any way by the Joint Commissioners.

Article 5—The Maharaja agrees to give all possible assistance in enforcing the decisions of the Commissioners and preventing the breach or evasion of the regulations established under Article 3.

Article 6—The Maharaja agrees that any person, whether a subject of the British Government, or of the Maharaja, or of the Ruler of Yarkand, or of any foreign State, may settle at any

place within the jurisdiction of the two Commissioners, and may provide, keep, maintain, and let for hire at different stages the means of carriage and transport for the purpose of trade.

Article 7—The two Commissioners shall be empowered to establish supply depots and to authorise other persons to establish supply depots at such places on the road as may appear to them suitable to fix the rates at which provisions shall be sold to traders, carriers, settlers and others; to fix the rent to be charged for the use of any rest-houses or serais that may be established on the road. The officers of the British Government in Kullu, etc., and the officers of the Maharaja in Ladakh, shall be instructed to use their best endeavours to supply provisions on the indent of the Commissioners at market rates.

Article 8—The Maharaja agrees to levy no transit duty whatever on the aforesaid free highway; and the Maharaja further agrees to abolish all transit duties levied within his territories on goods transmitted in bond through His Highness' territories from Eastern Turkistan to India, and vice versa, on which bulk may not be broken within the territories of His Highness. On goods imported into, or exported from, His Highness' territory, whether by the aforesaid free highway or any other route, the Maharaja may levy such import or export duties as he may think fit.

Article 9—The British Government agrees to levy no duty on goods transmitted in bond through British India to Eastern Turkistan, or to the territories of His Highness the Maharaja. The British Government further agrees to abolish the export duties now levied on shawl and other textile fabrics manufactured in the territories of the Maharaja, and exported to countries beyond the limits of British India.

Article 10—This Treaty, consisting of 10 Articles, has this day been concluded by Thomas Douglas Forsyth, C.B., in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo, Viscount Mayo of Monycrower, Baron Naas of Naas, K.P., G.M.S.I.P.C., etc., etc., Viceroy and Governor-General of India on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Runbeer Singh

aforesaid, and it is agreed that a copy of this Treaty, duly ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, shall be delivered to the Maharaja on or before the 7th September 1870.

Signed, sealed, and exchanged at Sialkote on the second day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy, corresponding with the 22nd day of Bysak, Sumbut 1927.

SIGNATURE OF MAHARAJA OF CASHMERE

Sd/- T.D. FORSYTH

Sd/- MAYO

This Treaty was ratified by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Sialkote on the 2nd day of May 1870.

Sd/- C. U. AITCHISON.

Officiating Secretary to the Government
Of India, Foreign Department.

APPENDIX V

Rules for the Guidance of Officers and other Travellers visiting the Dominions of His Highness Runbeer Singh, the Maharaja of Jummoo and Kashmir.

1. There are four authorised routes of European visitors to Kashmir (all of which are noticed in this work). The special permission of the Punjab Government must be obtained by travellers proposing to proceed from Simla to Kashmir across the Hills. All other roads are positively forbidden; and in respect to the direct road from Jummoo (the Bunnihal route), the prohibition has been ordered by the Supreme Government at the special request of His Highness the Maharaja. The road branching from Rajoori by Akhnoor, which is used by the Maharaja's family and troops, is also expressly prohibited.

2. Every officer or traveller about to visit Kashmir should engage before proceeding a sufficient number of ponies or mules for the conveyance of his baggage.

3. Carriage and Coolies—Coolies employed in carrying baggage, or for other purposes, are to be settled with daily, as in our own provinces, and their loads should not exceed twenty-five seers. Tatoos, or mules, should not carry more than two maunds in the hills.

4. It is necessary to bear in mind that coolies and carriages are not available on the spot, but they have usually to be collected from distant villages. Travellers on reaching a stage should therefore send forward to the next a notice of their requisitions, and must not expect to be supplied at a moment's warning. This intimation is especially necessary in the case of officers hurrying back to save their leave, sometimes making

double stages. In this case double hire must invariably be paid.

5. In returning from Kashmir, coolies or carriages should not be taken on beyond the Maharaja's frontier, as it causes much inconvenience to other travellers.

6. Encamping-Places and Supplies—Officers should encamp at the fixed stages and encamping grounds, otherwise supplies may not be forthcoming. They should avoid entering or pitching inside villages, where quarrels may occur between their servants and the public of the country.

7. All arrangements for supplies, coolies, or baggee animals, and all references to the local authorities, should be made through the proper attendants; but payment for supplies, coolies, and carriages should be made by travellers themselves in their presence.

8. No interference is to be offered to Kardars (revenue officers), Thanadars, or Kotwals (police officers), or other servants or subjects of His Highness the Maharaja; and no calls are to be made on them except in real emergencies. All payments are to be made at the rates demanded, which, if exorbitant, can be afterwards reported to the officer on duty at Srinagar.

9. A book will be presented at each stage, in which every traveller is required to write legibly his name, rank, station, and the date of his arrival.

10. Shooting Excursions—When going out on shooting excursions visitors are to take carriage and supplies with them, and not to persist in demanding them at places where they are not procurable. They are not to press into their service the people of the country as beaters for game.

11. Reference in Cases of Difficulties or Disputes—In any case of dispute officers should avoid putting themselves in direct collision with the authorities, soldiers, servants, or subjects of the Maharaja. They are also warned not to place entire confidence in the statements of their servants, who have often their own objects to serve.

12. Should they have reason to consider that they or their followers have been ill-treated or affronted, they are strictly prohibited from taking the law into their own hands, or punishing the offending parties; but they are to make known their complaint to the authorities on the spot, and immediately to report the matter to the officer on deputation at Srinagar.

13. All such cases which may occur at the capital are to be referred at once to the officer on deputation, who is there for the purpose of maintaining order. Officers are not themselves to repair to the durbar of the Maharaja, or the courts of his delegates, or to communicate directly with them.

14. Observance of Local Laws and Customs—Officers are enjoined to remember that they are visitors in the remote dominions of an independent sovereign, where they one and all represent the character of their country. If on any occasion they or their servants be brought in contact with the Maharaja, his sons, relatives, or any of his agents, they must treat them with respect and courtesy, and be guided by and conform to the local laws and usages.

15. Officers are not allowed to take away with them, either in their service or with their camps, any subjects of the Maharaja without obtaining permission and a passport from the authorities.

16. They are strictly required to settle all accounts before they quit Kashmir, and to be responsible that the debts of their servants are similarly discharged.

17. All Presents to be Refused—Presents of every description must be rigidly refused. To take any 'russud' of supplies without payment is positively prohibited, except on the first or last days of a visitor's stay at Kashmir, when it may happen that 'russud' is sent expressly by the Maharaja.

18. Instances having been brought to the notice of the European visitors to Kashmir having permitted the goods of native merchants to be mixed up with their own, with the object of evading the customs duties leviable thereupon by the Kashmir Government,—it is hereby pointed out that such conduct will involve legal penalties; and in the case of persons in the civil

or military service of the Queen will be reported to the Supreme Government.

19. The Maharaja occasionally invites European visitors to entertainments, at which, if the invitation be accepted, they should appear in undress uniform or evening costume.

20. It will be the duty of the Officer on Special Duty to report to the Punjab Government if any officer or traveller infringes any of these rules.

21. Should any officer be guilty of any aggravated breach of decorum or propriety, or of violating the local laws and usages of the country, or other grave misconduct, the Civil Officer on Special Duty at Srinagar is empowered to call upon such officer to quit forthwith the territories of the Maharaja. Such requisition on the part of the Civil Officer must be promptly complied with. An appeal from the order of expulsion will lie, in the case of a first offence, to a court of three experienced officers, whom the Civil Officer is empowered to summon for hearing such appeals, and the decision of these officers will be final. In the case of a second offence, there will be no appeal against the order of the Civil Officer.

T. H. Thornton

Secretary to Government, Punjab

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The troops selected by the British for subjugation of Kashmir.
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33. Manifesto dated September 25, 1885.
34. Military Deptt. Notification dated Simla, April 29, 1892, published in the *Gazette of India*, April 30, 1892.
35. *The Gazetteer of India*, April 30, 1892.
36. *Punjab Gazette*, Sialkot, November 2, 1889.
37. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, October. 24, 1889.
38. Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1890-91, p. 129.
39. Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1896-97.
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41. S.S. Middlemis *Report of the Mineral Survey*.
42. Agreement between Pratap Singh and Talbot, dated September 12, 1899.

43. Gilgit Political Agency Circular No. 783 dated December 19, 1897.
44. Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1904.
45. Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1895-96.
46. *Panjab Gazette*, Sialkot, October 26, 1889.
47. Statement of Shaikh Atta Mohammad, Advocate, in *Siyasat*, Lahore, November 7, 8, 1923.
48. United India and Indian States : September 15, 1921, "Kashmir Lessons from the Past", T.V. Seshagiri Iyer.
49. *Kashmiri Magazine*, Lahore, February 27, 1920.

CHRONOLOGY

- 1800 Russian leap forward policy towards Central Asia.
- 1801 Russia deposes its forces towards India.
- 1839 Death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab.
- 1843 Dalip Singh proclaimed Maharaja.
- 1845 Anglo-Sikh War.
- 1846 Treaty of Lahore.
Treaty of Amritsar.
Uprising in Kashmir.
British attack Kashmir and impose Gulab Singh as ruler.
- 1847 Shawlbauf Agitation.
- 1852 Appointment of a British Officer at Srinagar.
Gulab Singh attacks Chillas and is defeated.
- 1854 Christian missionary work begins in Kashmir.
- 1856 Ranbir Singh installed as Maharaja.
- 1857 Uprising of 1857.
Gulab Singh dies in Kashmir.
- 1860 Dogras occupy the fort of Gilgit.
- 1865 Famine in Kashmir. Workers uprising.
Deputation of spies into Central Asia and Russia.
- 1866 Dogras attack Darel. Catastrophe of Darel in which hundreds of Kashmiri labourers captured for forced labour die in snow.
- 1868 Hayward on reconnaissance to the Pamirs.
- 1870 Famine in Kashmir. Migration of Kashmiris towards the plains.

Commercial Treaty of 1870 and the British control on Central Asian Trade.

Ranbir Singh's shortlived "leap forward policy".

- 1873 Forsyth mission to Central Asia.
- 1874 Establishment of British mission at Kashgar.
- 1876 Czar revives the plan for invasion of India.
British fortify Gilgit.
- 1877 The Chitral question. Political relations between the British, Kashmir and Chitral.
- 1878 Appointment of British Political Officer at Gilgit.
The Chitral Agreement of 1878.
- 1881 Founding of Mission schools in Kashmir.
- 1884 Russia seizes Panjdeh.
Uprising in Yasin.
- 1885 Ranbir Singh offers his troops against Russia.
Lockhart deputed to the Pamirs on political mission.
Russia and England on the brink of war.
Appointment of Resident in Kashmir.
Pratap Singh becomes Maharaja.
- 1887 Survey of coal deposits.
- 1888 Russian agents in the Trans-Himalayas.
Uprising in Hunza and Nagar.
British recognise Imperial troops.
- 1889 Deputation of Durand to Gilgit.
Deposition of Pratap Singh.
Kashmir under Residency control.
Lawrence's Settlement in Kashmir.
- 1890 Russia appears on the Ladakh border.
Entry into Gilgit, Baltistan and Ladakh banned.
Srinagar connected with Rawalpindi by a cart road.
- 1891 Durand leads an operational force to Gilgit.
- 1892 Macartney returns from Yarkand.
- 1894 British take over the postal system.
- 1895 British take over trade between Ladakh and Tibet.

- Spy activities; British attack Chitral.
- Introduction of British currency in Kashmir.
- 1896 Amar Singh conspires downfall of Pratap Singh.
- 1898 Pratap Singh warned. He submits to the British pressure.
- 1900 British organise and equip Imperial Service Troops for invasion of Tibet and China.
- 1901 Settlement operations in Baltistan.
- 1903 Reorganisation of civil administration completed by the British.
- 1904 Settlement operations in Ladakh.
- 1905 Restoration of powers to Pratap Singh, under the overall control of the Resident.
- 1906 Sven Hedin reaches Srinagar.
- 1907 The British complete reorganisation of the Kashmir forces.
- Introduction of Urdu instead of Persian.
- 1909 Death of Amar Singh and nomination of Hari Singh as heir-apparent.
- 1912 Kashmiri Muslim Conference pleads appointment of State subjects.
- 1914 Mineral survey of Kashmir completed; First World War.
- 1916 Sharp's note on Education in Kashmir.
- Spread of political ideas.
- Registration of visitors introduced in Kashmir.
- 1917 Socialistic Revolution in Russia.
- Gilgit as a watch station on the frontiers.
- 1918 Ban on political parties and press.
- Pratap Singh gives an undertaking to work under the direction of the Resident.
- 1919 Reduction of the Kashmir forces.
- 1921 Restoration of full powers to Pratap Singh.
- Spread of nationalist movements in Kashmir.
- 1922 Constitution of the new State Council with Hari Singh as Senior Member.
- 1923 Pratap Singh told to renounce his position as President of the Council in favour of Hari Singh.
- 1924 Pratap Singh told to abstain from meeting of the Council.
- Kashmiri Muslims submit memorandum of grievances before Lord Reading, Viceroy of India.
- 1925 Pratap Singh dies un-sung and un-wept.

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